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THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY
QUARTERLY

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Twenty-Fourth President of the New-York Historical Society

Photograph by Pach Bros., N. Y., 1956

THE NEW-YORK
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
QUARTERLY

April 1956

VOLUME XL NUMBER TWO

New York: 170 Central Park West

LeROY ELWOOD KIMBALL, A.M., LL.D.

TWENTY-FOURTH PRESIDENT

OF THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

ONE DAY about forty years ago two tall blonde young men faced each other across the Information Desk of The New York Public Library. The twenty-eight year old Reader was at work on his New York University thesis on Charles Brockden Brown (1771–1810), the first American professional man of letters. Needing a little assistance, he had stepped up to the Librarian at the desk (his junior by two years) and, with a warm and friendly smile, stated his problem. And that is the way our new President and the writer became acquainted.

Inasmuch as their father was a professor in Albion College (Michigan), it was natural the Kimball boys should attend that institution. The family originally came, by way of Vermont and upper New York State, from Ipswich, Massachusetts, where the Richard Kimball home, built in 1715, is among those interesting

early houses now preserved for posterity. Taking his A.B. in 1910 LeRoy Kimball *wrote* the local Albion daily paper for one year and then came on to New York to become the second man in the central financial administration of New York University. To a twenty-two year old who had his mind set on big town journalism, the difference between the debit and credit sides of the ledgers, we understand, was for some time a deep mystery.

Call it nepotism if you will, the then number one financial man at NYU, who called him, was also an Albion graduate whose father was also a member of the Albion faculty. The boss had learned bookkeeping the hard way also, some ten years before, and doubtless had a fellow feeling for the young man's agonies. Between them they ran a budget of $450,000 in 1911 which must have seemed then like most of the money in the world; today Dr. Kimball's annual operating budget, exclusive of a progressing construction program of approximately the same amount, is $33,000,000. He knows the difference between the debit and credit sides of the ledgers.

From 1911 to 1920 the young man continued his assistantship, and earned his A.M. which was conferred in 1917. Then early in 1920, at the age of thirty-one, he became the chief financial operating officer whose additional administrative duties have always included the hanging of the gay hoods on the honorary degree candidates at Commencement exercises. Counting on our fingers, this June should make thirty-seven annual "lassoings"—involving a total of some four hundred notables, including interim investitures; we have never seen the list but it must be interesting as it includes the "greats" as honored by three NYU administrations since the First World War. This June will be Dr. Kimball's last "roundup" as he retires July first after forty-five years on the "pressure front" of his University.

An honorary LL.D. degree from Albion on the twenty-fifth anniversary of his graduation, together with a long time membership on the Board of Trustees, has kept early Albion memories green, not to forget Mrs. Kimball, the former Gipsy Robinson

of Albion, with whom he exchanged schoolroom notes in pigtail days; she was his leading lady in high school plays and classmate in Albion College. They were married June 17, 1914 and as they have no offspring their love has been largely centered on the lower Hudson Valley—where the highlands begin.

In the summer of 1920 they surveyed the scene from the west bank on the top of Buckberg Mountain, Tomkins Cove, in the township of Stony Point. A sweep of scenery to the east from Tarrytown to Peekskill including Haverstraw and Peekskill Bays lay before them, and down below, looking as if you could touch it if you had a long arm, was the steepsided peninsula known as Stony Point, where in 1779 a battle was fought which proved to be a principal turning point in the Revolution. The enthusiasms of the young couple were further fired when they gained the knowledge that acres one time known as George III's early grant to his Royal Attorney General, Richard Bradley, there on the top of the mountain could be had, and so they purchased and built.

Apartments in town and twenty-five years' ownership of and summer residence in Mrs. Kimball's family home "Brooklands," Westcott, Dorking, Surrey, England, were all in the picture, but their hearts remained in New York's storied highlands and their mountaintop home 800 feet above the Hudson, an hour from town, has their American and English family furniture and collections which delight their eyes and warm their hearts.

Having been an active member of Sigma Nu in college during his undergraduate days, it was natural for him to continue his interest in the fraternity which he served as National Regent from 1935 to 1937 and trustee since 1938. He was also Chairman of the National Inter-Fraternity Conference, which represents all national college fraternities, in 1935. His ability as a scholar led to his being elected President of the Modern Language Association of America, the country's largest learned society; he has also been President of the Association of American Colleges, and is a member of Phi Beta Kappa.

Dr. Kimball's keen interest in the world of books, of collecting and of literary bibliography was recognized by his election to membership in The Grolier Club, this country's foremost book group, of which he is Treasurer, in the Bibliographical Society of America, of which he was President from 1948 to 1950, in the Bibliographical Society of England and in the Oxford University and Cambridge University Bibliographical Societies. His dwelling in England and his interest in Anglo-American affairs led to his becoming a member of the venerable Athenaeum Club of London. His New York clubs include The Century Association, Grolier, Union, and the University.

American history has been of absorbing interest to Dr. Kimball for many years and he has done much to preserve our historical treasures and traditions both indoors and out. Because of his activity in this field he was elected a member of the American Antiquarian Society, the Rockland County Historical Society, of which he has been president, and of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, being its President from 1933 to 1941. Previous to this he had served for many years as Chairman of the latter Society's Committee on the Stony Point Battlefield Reservation and was responsible for the building of the charming and historical Stony Point Museum on the site of "Mad Anthony" Wayne's famous victory over the British July 16, 1779.

An instigator and a founder of the New York University-Bellevue Medical Center, he was the first Secretary-Treasurer of their Board of Trustees, 1947–1952, and is now Honorary Trustee. Dr. Kimball is Treasurer of the Board of Trustees of Christ Church Methodist, Park Avenue at 60th Street, where he has been a member since coming to New York. He is Chairman of the Finance Committee of St. Christophers School, Dobbs Ferry, New York, and has been vice president of the McAuley Water Street Mission for many years.

It was natural that Dr. Kimball's deep interest in history should have brought him to The New-York Historical Society where he has been a life member since 1931, a member of the Executive

Committee from 1935 to 1937, and of the new Board of Trustees since 1937. He served as Treasurer of the Society in 1939 and 1940, as First Vice-President from 1947 to 1956 and was elected President at the annual meeting on January 25, 1956. He has served ably and loyally on many committees over the years and in recent times has been chairman of the important committees on the Library and on Publications and a valued member of the Finance Committee to which he brought his years of business experience.

As part of his active career as educator and executive, Dr. Kimball has written many addresses, monographs, book reviews and articles, among them two which appeared in the Society's *Quarterly*, the very friendly article *The Society welcomes a new Director** and the historically valuable and interesting study of the friendly relations between our Society and New York University: *The old university building and the Society's years on Washington Square*** which was reprinted as a separate monograph for the use of the Society and the University.

From this account of the career of Dr. Kimball it is evident that, in electing him to succeed Dr. Fenwick Beekman as our President, the Society is but carrying on its distinguished tradition for the choosing of eminent citizens of outstanding scholarship and executive ability to guide the activities of our ancient institution. To those who do not have the privilege of knowing Dr. Kimball personally, we should add that he brings to his new duties not only eminence in the fields of scholarship and administration but also rare judgment and tact, an unruffled charm and warmth of personality which attracts and holds the friendship of all who are associated with him. With his intimate knowledge of the administration of the Society gained by a quarter century of loyal service, we may be sure that the old Society may look forward to happy and prosperous years ahead.

R. W. G. Vail

* N.Y.H.S. *Quarterly*, October, 1944, p. 159–166, 6 portraits.
** N.Y.H.S. *Quarterly*, July, 1948 p. 149–219, 31 illustrations.

THE BRITISH FLEET OFF STATEN ISLAND, JULY 1776

Watercolor attributed to Charles Turner Warren (1767–1823) or his son Alfred William Warren

Courtesy of the Mariners Museum, Newport News, Virginia

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE HUDSON

THE BRITISH NAVAL EXPEDITION UNDER CAPTAIN HYDE PARKER AND CAPTAIN JAMES WALLACE

JULY 12—AUGUST 18, 1776

by RICHARD J. KOKE, *Curator of the Museum*

IN THE SUMMER of the fateful year of 1776 General George Washington and the Continental Army strove valiantly to defend New York City against the powerful blow which Great Britain launched by sea against the little metropolis at the southern tip of Manhattan Island. Throughout 1775 Britain had fought a defensive war at Boston and in Canada, but now the full strength of her naval and military forces was being gathered for the offensive directed at the American forces entrenched in the city, along the Hudson River, and on the Long Island hills.

Sir William Howe, Commander-in-Chief of the British Army in North America, arrived off Sandy Hook at the end of June 1776 with the first contingent of the Army destined for the New York operation and with him came the Halifax fleet under Vice-Admiral Molyneux Shuldham. Early in July the troops landed on Staten Island and Howe began to plan his operations against the rebel forces. As the scarlet-clad British generals listened to the reports of loyalists and deserters and traced their fingers over their charts, Howe began to envision benefits which would derive from the dispatch of a naval squadron up the Hudson River to cut the water communication between northern New York and the rebel army at the mouth of the estuary, where the Americans had toiled for five months on a maze of fortifications on Manhattan and Governors Islands, on Brooklyn Heights and Red Hook, and on the sand knolls of Paulus Hook on the Jersey shore.

BRITISH FLEET OFF STATEN ISLAND, JULY 12, 1776

Sepia drawing by Captain-Lieutenant Archibald Robertson

Courtesy of the New York Public Library

"From this day forward I date the commencement of our successes": so wrote Captain-Lieutenant Archibald Robertson of the Royal Engineers on the day he drew this view of the arrival of Lord Howe's flagship, just after the *Phoenix* and *Rose* had forced their way up the Hudson River. The scene looks towards the Narrows from the heights above the Watering Place, at what is now Stapleton, Staten Island, as H.M.S. *Eagle* entered the upper harbor. The Halifax transports and Shuldham's anchored squadron, to which the *Phoenix* and *Rose* were attached, are anchored off the island. The western end of Long Island appears at the left.

On the hot sunny afternoon of Friday, July 12, the Right Honorable Richard, Lord Viscount Howe, Vice-Admiral of the White, brother of the general and newly-appointed Commander-in-Chief of the British naval forces on the North American Station, stood on the quarterdeck of H.M.S. *Eagle* and gazed across the blue Atlantic towards Long Island and the New Jersey shore. He was nearing the American coast with eagerly awaited European reinforcements for his brother. The ominous sound of heavy cannonfire suddenly was heard and black smoke arose from the distant New York waters as the long line of British vessels approached Sandy Hook. The fleet stood into the lower

harbor, and as the reverberations of gunfire died down the salute guns of Shuldham's anchored ships renewed the noisy demonstration when the *Eagle* passed through the Narrows and anchored at 5:30 in the afternoon off the northeast shore of Staten Island.

The build-up for the great offensive designed to crush Washington gathered momentum with each passing week. New vessels and troops arrived from the Continent, but the first tactical operation was already under way during the hours when Lord Howe had heard the roar of heavy guns while approaching the coast. Had he arrived two hours earlier he would have witnessed the first naval thrust undertaken against the Americans by two frigates and three attending vessels of Shuldham's naval force. The offensive which was sweeping up the Hudson on July 12 while the salute guns were greeting Lord Howe's Spithead fleet had had its inception on Staten Island three days after the Continental Congress declared the thirteen colonies independent of the British Crown.

I

BRITISH OFFENSIVE

Plan for the Hudson River Expedition

The initiative was taken by Sir William Howe who discussed with Vice-Admiral Shuldham on July 7 the possibility of sending two frigates up the Hudson River to cut the American supply line between New York and the upper parts of the Province, and also to protect the loyalists behind the rebel lines and take advantage of any opportunity which the presence of the ships might bring. Later that day he put his proposals in writing and forwarded them to the Admiral:

> Being of opinion that a naval force in the North River above the town of New York, such as you may judge sufficient to support itself against

SIR WILLIAM HOWE (1729–1814)

Commander-in-Chief of the British Army in North America, 1775–78, in full dress uniform, 1778, with the star and ribbon of the Order of the Bath

Watercolor by Charles M. Lefferts (1873–1923)

The New-York Historical Society

the enemy in that station, would be attended with many good consequences to his Majesty's arms, and particularly in distressing the army upon the Island of New York by obstructing their supplies through that channel, I beg leave to propose this measure to your consideration, that it may if approved of be carried into execution as soon as the necessary preparations can be made; and in case you judge it advisable to send an armed transport with the ships of war on this service, you will be pleased to let me know the vessel best adapted for the purpose that I may give directions for her to be delivered to your orders.

Shuldham returned word to Howe on the same day that he had given orders to Captain Hyde Parker of H.M.S. *Phoenix*, 44 guns, to take under his command H.M.S. *Rose*, 20 guns, Captain James Wallace, and proceed up the river "as soon as possible." These ships, which were to be accompanied by the armed transport *Symmetry*, were the only frigates he could then detach from the naval force and still have sufficient strength to protect the transports off Staten Island and cooperate with the Army.

Though Shuldham had readily assented to Howe's proposal, the lack of wind in the following days prevented Parker and Wallace from proceeding with the movement. The delay gave Shuldham and his officers time to deliberate the matter carefully, and the more the Admiral thought about the proposed expedition the less stomach he had for it. By July 11 he had a complete change of heart and he wrote to Howe that since their last

communication he had received information from the "best authority" that the American batteries along the Hudson were so numerous and strong and the river was so narrow and so easily commanded by high grounds on both shores that he did not think it advisable to risk two of the King's ships, "especially as all communication between those ships and the fleet and army would be immediately cut off for some time." Therefore, he thought it best to "defer" carrying Howe's proposal into execution until the arrival of reinforcements.

MOLYNEUX SHULDHAM
(*c.* 1717–1798)

Vice-Admiral of the Blue, and Commander-in-Chief of British Naval Forces on the North American Station, 1775–76

From a portrait attributed to Tilly Kettle (*c.* 1740–1786)

Reproduced from Publications *of the Navy Records Society, 1932, by courtesy of Mrs. Richard T. Crane, Ipswich, Massachusetts*

. . . . Nothing can give me greater concern [*he continued*] than finding myself under the necessity of dissenting from your opinion in this last proposal and giving it as mine, together with that of every captain of the squadron now with me, after the most faithful and dispassionate deliberation that the advantages to be gained, and the consequences you seem to expect from such a measure, are not equal to the risk of two of his Majesty's ships in making the attempt unaccompanied with a proper number of troops.

Howe was adamant that the Hudson River passage should be forced. In his answer to the Admiral on July 12 he expressed his

H.M.S. PHOENIX, 44 GUNS
CAPTAIN HYDE PARKER

H.M.S. ROSE, 20 GUNS
CAPTAIN JAMES WALLACE

Details from *The* Phoenix *and the* Rose *Engaged by the Enemy's Fire Ships and Galleys on the 16 Aug^st 1776*, by Dominique Serres, after a sketch by Sir James Wallace.

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"deepest concern" to learn Shuldham's opinion. The danger to which the vessels would be subjected while passing the rebel batteries, Howe wrote, should be risked in return for the service they probably could perform, and he stressed the point that the captains selected for the enterprise had said, in Shuldham's presence, that the passage of the batteries "was not a matter of serious objection."

Howe did not anticipate great danger from the commanding heights, and suggested that the ships could sail thirty miles upstream into a wide part of the river called the Tappan Zee,

which was nearly four miles from shore to shore. The Americans, furthermore, did not have any force stationed above Manhattan Island which could effectively harass the vessels. "At any rate," he went on, "were the attempt made, and it should prove that they cannot support themselves while separated from the rest of the fleet, it appears to me that they might speedily return." He then continued:

> I beg you will excuse my dwelling thus long upon a measure the relinquishing of which gives me much uneasiness, being fully satisfied in my own mind, and confirmed by the opinions of some of the principal officers in the army, of the utility and absolute necessity there is for our being in possession of the upper river to cut off that channel of supply; and with great deference to you as the naval commander with whom I am to cooperate, I must presume to say that I have not a doubt of the force proposed being adequate to the service required in all respects.
>
> As to their going unaccompanied by troops, I own I cannot see in what instance they would contribute to the service immediately in view, since the ships have not anything to apprehend from the shore after they have passed the batteries, the furthest of which is only three miles above the town of New York, whereas I should propose them to go thirty or forty miles beyond it.

With Howe's comments in hand—amounting virtually to a peremptory demand, which he could not easily refuse after having already acquiesced in the move—Shuldham grudgingly complied, and he returned a short answer on the same day:

> I have the honour of your letter of this date; and in consequence of it, have given orders to Captain Parker of the *Phoenix*, taking the *Rose* and *Trial* schooner under his command, to carry into immediate execution, the first favourable opportunity, the orders he was under the 6th instant (which he could not have done sooner) for proceeding above the town of New York on the service you have recommended.

Shuldham still had no heart for the enterprise, and even after the ships rejoined the fleet in August he called it a "fruitless expedition."

The transport *Symmetry*, which was originally scheduled to accompany the squadron, was removed from the sailing list, and the vessels finally selected to join the frigates in the audacious

CAPTAIN HYDE PARKER
(1739–1807)

Commander of H.M.S. *Phoenix*, 1775–80, and officer-in-charge of the British naval expedition up the Hudson River in July and August 1776. For his service during this command he was knighted by King George III.

Pastel by Sir Thomas Lawrence
(1769–1830)

Courtesy of the Society for Nautical Research, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, England

attempt to test the strength of the American batteries were H.B.M. schooner *Trial* (*Tryal*), Lieutenant John Brown, and H.B.M. tenders *Charlotta* and *Shuldham*. On board the five craft were about 400 men and a complement of Royal Marines.

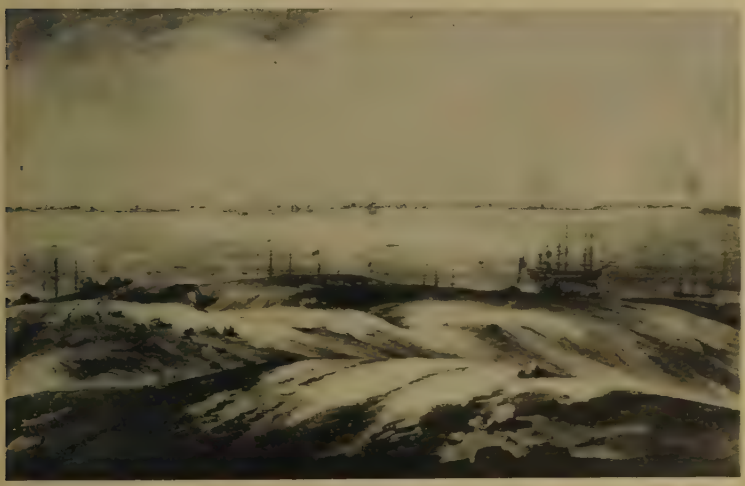
The commanders of the frigates were skillful officers who were well qualified for the dangerous work. Captain Parker had already seen service on the North American Station under Hood, and had arrived with the *Phoenix* at New York in December 1775 to help sustain Royal authority in the rebellious Province. Between his own arrival and that of Shuldham's fleet, Parker had been busy watching the harbor and detaining and sinking rebel vessels which had to pass his station. His knowledge of the New York waters, no doubt, had much to do with his selection to guide the squadron into the vast arena of the American harbor defenses.

Wallace, too, was well qualified for an independent command. A veteran of thirty years' service in the Royal Navy, he had served on various stations from the East Indies to the North American coast. He had come to America with the *Rose* in 1774, and in the following year and early in 1776, while the Boston siege was in progress, he single-handedly terrorized the Rhode

Island waters and kept the inhabitants in submission by threats, raids, and bombardment, by the seizure of boats and the burning of houses. In the spring he joined Shuldham at Halifax and came to New York with the fleet. The mission up the Hudson was one for which he was well suited by experience of ruthless efficiency.

July 12: Breakthrough to the Tappan Zee

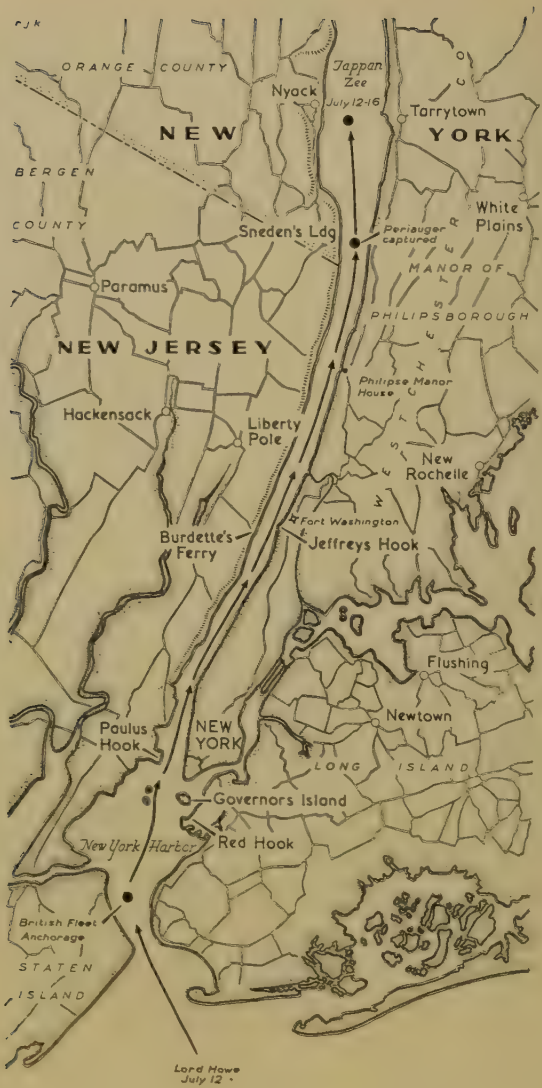
The tide was at flood and the wind blew strong on the afternoon of Friday, July 12. Brilliant sunshine sparkled on the water. The final orders were sent to Parker and Wallace. The decks were cleared. The anchors were heaved in and catted. The sails were loosened. The clean white canvas thundered from the yards and sheeted home amid a wild rattling of blocks, and at 3:30



PARKER'S SQUADRON FORCING THE HUDSON RIVER PASSAGE

On the afternoon of July 12, 1776, Captain-Lieutenant Archibald Robertson made this sepia drawing of the scene from the Watering Place on Staten Island as the *Phoenix* and *Rose* passed abreast the American batteries at New York. The two frigates and their attending vessels are seen in the far center distance amid the gunfire from the American harbor fortifications. In the foreground are the anchored ships of the Halifax fleet.

Courtesy of the New York Public Library



JULY 12, 1776
Breakthrough to the Tappan Zee

the *Phoenix* and *Rose*, accompanied by the *Trial* and the tenders *Charlotta and Shuldham*, got under way and stood into the harbor with both tide and a southwest wind in their favor.

Immediately on setting sail the detonations of six or eight American alarm guns fired at New York drifted across the water. The ships proceeded with the greatest regularity on their dangerous course, bulwarks sandbagged to protect the crews, and when they neared Bedloe's Island and came within range of the American guns they veered slightly towards the Jersey shore. The all-pervading silence was again broken when the American artillerists in the batteries on Red Hook, Governors Island, Paulus Hook, and Manhattan Island opened fire with cannon and mortars, hurling solid shot against the vessels and even bombs, two or three of which burst in the air.

The British soldiers on Staten Island and the sailors on board the fleet watched the stirring scene with anxious eyes, and one of the engineer officers counted and recorded the shots fired at the squadron—twenty-seven from Red Hook, sixteen from Governors Island, twenty-seven from Paulus Hook, and 126 from the different batteries near New York—in all, a total of 196 missiles. The heavy cannonade ripped through the squadron, but the vessels sailed rapidly along without returning a shot. Throughout this "most terrible fire" which the Americans directed against the ships for a distance of three miles a British sailor sat on the top gallant yard of one of the frigates in daring bravado and came through unhurt.

It was not until about 4: 10, as they drew abreast Paulus Hook and New York, that the long-silent British guns opened fire. Some of the broadsides were aimed against the battery on the Jersey shore, where two cannon balls went into the house of Verdine Elsworth, but the heaviest concentrations of gunfire opened against New York. The broadsides did little damage, but the murderous discharges created a great fright among the civilian population. Washington wrote that the shrieks and cries of the women, "running every way with their children was truly dis-

NEW YORK CITY FROM THE WEST, *c.* 1773

Showing the Hudson River shore against which Parker and Wallace directed their broadsides when they raced upstream on July 12, 1776. The large church on the bluff at the left is Trinity Church on Broadway and Wall Street, destroyed soon after in the fire of 1776, and at the right is Fort George, where the Custom House at Bowling Green now stands.

Aquatint from the *Atlantic Neptune*, prepared and published by the British Admiralty, 1763–84, under direction of Joseph Frederick Wallet Des Barres (1722–1824)

The New-York Historical Society

tressing." Some hid in cellars and others packed bundles of their most precious belongings and fled to the Bowery Lane on the eastern outskirts of the city, where the thoroughfare was lined with people seeking refuge from the dreadful bombardment.

The houses fended off many of the British shot, but others struck and went through various buildings or fell into the streets and onto the encampments. The tents in the American cantonments near the river were struck and dropped to prevent them from becoming unnecessary targets for the naval guns. However, in spite of the fury of the cannonade, not one American soldier was injured by the enemy missiles, and the only casualty was a cow which was killed and later made good market beef. The smoke of gunfire hung low over the city and an acrid smell pierced the air as the heavily sparred frigates, belching flame and shrouded in the smoke of their own broadsides, made their way

upstream. One of the American surgeons, fully expecting to see the vessels sunk or crippled, wrote that it was "mortifying" to see the ships sail steadily along "seemingly regardless of our constant fire."

In many instances there seemed to be a complete disobedience of orders within the American lines when the alarm drums beat. One Massachusetts officer charged that not more than half of the artillerists were at their guns, while others were in their cups or in "their usual place of abode" in the brothels on the Holy Ground near St. Paul's Chapel. The inexperience of the gunners on the Grand Battery below Fort George in this, the first test of the fortifications against the naval might of Great Britain, caused the death of six soldiers and the injury of four or five others. Their carelessness in sponging a cannon resulted in a cartridge taking fire as it was being rammed down and the gun burst with deplorable casualties. Colonel Henry Knox of the artillery wrote that the accident would teach his men "to moderate their fiery courage," but it was rumored among the rank and file that the accident was due to drunkenness. The six dead men were later buried in a large grave on the Bowling Green, close to the spot where until recently had stood the statue of King George III.

Many soldiers in the batteries distant from the waterside did little but watch the gunplay. Others, both officers and men, instead of attending to their duty when the drums beat, walked along the shore and watched the vessels as they "sailed stately up North River." Their behavior did not escape Washington's scrutiny who, in his General Orders on the next day, deplored the fact that "such unsoldierly Conduct must grieve every good officer, and give the enemy a mean opinion of the Army, as nothing shews the brave the good Soldier more than in case of Alarm, cooly and calmly repairing to his post, and their [there] waiting his orders; whereas a weak curiosity at such a time makes a man look mean and contemptible."

By 4:30 the vessels had passed some ten or eleven batteries and they signalled to the distant fleet that they had sustained little

AMERICAN LUNETTE BATTERY AT THE TIP OF JEFFREYS HOOK, 1904

Constructed in 1776 as part of the Fort Washington defenses to protect the passage of the Hudson River against the Royal Navy. The site of this redoubt is now occupied by an abandoned lighthouse in Fort Washington Park at the base of the east pier of the George Washington Bridge. The Palisades are seen on the opposite shore.

The New-York Historical Society

damage, while their towering spread of canvas carried them rapidly up the Hudson towards Fort Washington on northern Manhattan Island. Some of the country homes north of the city were also subjected to cannon fire from the ships, such as the mansion on the Chelsea estate of Captain Thomas Clarke against which three shots were fired—one lodged in a brick bedroom wall, another went through the building, while the third destroyed several trees in front of the entrance and then continued its way into the woods.

The vessels approached the Fort Washington defenses about an hour later in close proximity to the jutting promontory of Jeffreys Hook on the east shore, where they drew the fire of the

guns at Fort Washington and of the riflemen on the point. Here, too, the squadron moved safely through the zone of fire. The ships had barely left the last battery astern when Wallace ordered a bowl of punch and a bottle of claret to toast their success. But while he and his officers were drinking to their good fortune one last American shot thundered across the water and smashed into the *Rose's* pinnace, carried away three capstan bars and two oars, and went through the Captain's cot. The *Rose* returned one gun with contempt.

From opposite the elegant home of Colonel Frederick Philipse at Yonkers, six miles above the fort, Parker and Wallace observed deer in a park near the shore—to them, perhaps, a reminder of a genteel mode of life which war was sweeping away. As they continued northward abreast the columnar Palisades, one of the tenders overtook a periauger which was attempting to beat its way upstream. The small craft tried to escape towards Sneden's Landing, but it was impossible to make land because of the salt marshes which extended into the river from the west shore. The tender fired four or five warning shots and sent her barge with a party of seamen to take her crew prisoners—John Fowler, a butcher named Stophell, and Fowler's thirteen-year-old son, who had chosen this unlucky day to leave New York to purchase livestock in the country.

Around 7:00 in the evening the vessels finally came to anchor about half a mile from the Orange County shore in the broad waters of the Tappan Zee between Nyack and Tarrytown. Many of the American missiles—especially those from Red Hook, Paulus Hook, and Fort Washington—had ripped through the sails and riggings and some had struck the vessels with deadly accuracy, but the squadron had escaped relatively unscathed in its hazardous thirty-mile race up the river. The only casualties on the *Rose* were two men who were "a little hurt" by the explosion of a powder horn. Two others were wounded on the *Phoenix*, one only slightly, but the other man had to have his leg amputated.

While the sun sank lower over the Nyack hills, the crews were

THE TAPPAN ZEE

Looking south from Nyack towards Sneden's Landing and the Palisades, where the *Phoenix* and *Rose* appeared on July 12, 1776

Photograph by the author, 1951

put to work repairing the damage and cutting out shot embedded in the hulls. Stophell and the Fowlers were detained on board the tender for an hour or two, and then were sent to the *Rose* where they were held captive all night. Despite the risk, the vaunted passage had been forced, and Parker and Wallace were now in position to cut the American line of supply by way of the Hudson River.

Guarding the Shores

The sudden appearance of the hostile craft in the Tappan Zee threw the inhabitants of the adjoining counties of Orange and Westchester into turmoil. The first fearful thought on both shores was that the enemy was going to land—perhaps that very

night—to devastate the countryside. The Orange and Westchester militia regiments under Colonel Ann Hawkes Hay and Lieutenant-Colonel James Hammond and some from Colonel Thomas Thomas's regiment were ordered to take post along the Nyack and Tarrytown shores. The officers encouraged the inhabitants. Women living near the river were sent inland. Cartridges, lead, and gunpowder were distributed to the troops. The word spread fast, and even from Peekskill, fifteen miles farther up the river, an appeal was sent that night to one of the Highland forts for men and ammunition "for we Expect to be Attacked here as soon as Day Appears by Men of war and tenders."

Nothing short of consternation prevailed at the Headquarters of the Continental Army at New York and among the politicians of the New York Convention at White Plains when the squadron passed up the estuary. The forcing of the Hudson River and the establishment of an enemy naval position behind the American lines not only demonstrated the ineffectiveness of the New York fortifications in blocking the mouth of the river, but also poised a threat to the entire American defense system on the Hudson as well as a potent dagger pointed towards Albany and the rear of the Northern Army on Lake Champlain. The thought that other vessels of the Royal Navy might again force the passage to outflank the American positions was, according to Washington himself, "truly Alarming."

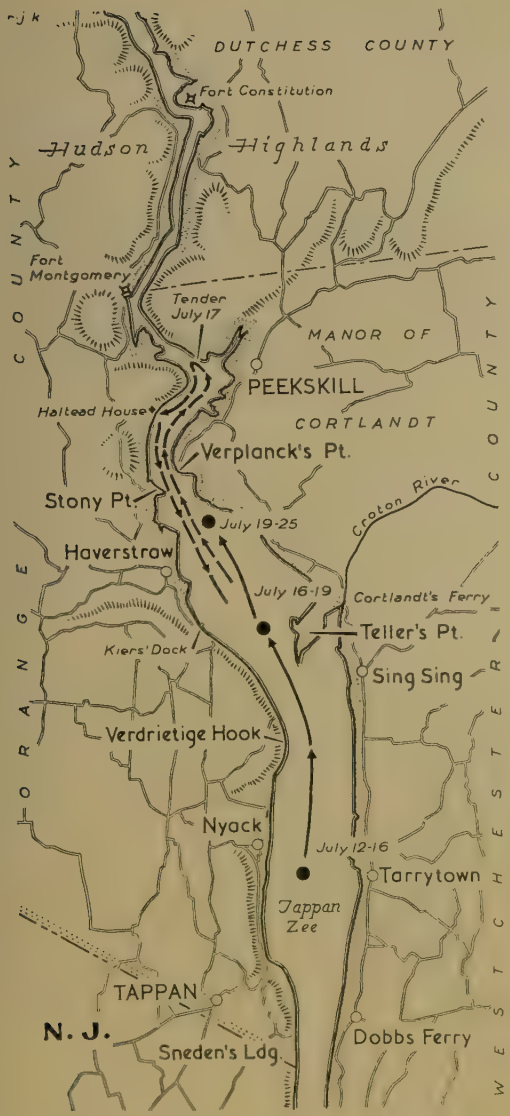
The Commander-in-Chief believed the ships carried not only stores of arms and ammunition for loyalists in the up-river counties, but also troops who might attempt to land and seize the Hudson Highland passes through which ran the roads which provided almost the only land communication with the north. It was also thought possible the ships would race through the Highlands to destroy two Continental frigates which were under construction at Poughkeepsie, seventy-five miles up the Hudson. The ominous presence of the squadron in the river and the growing strength of the British forces under the Howe brothers was sufficient to convince many of the Convention delegates

that it would be but a short time before a vast enemy offensive swept up the Hudson in the wake of the *Phoenix* and *Rose* to trap Washington on Manhattan Island and ultimately form a junction with the Canadian forces. Then, they surmised, the hills and vales of Westchester would become "a scene of ruin and desolation."

The loyalist problem, too, was acute. Word had already circulated in Westchester before the squadron sailed upstream that when the British arrived the loyalists would collect and assist them. Nothing happened there, but in Dutchess events took a more violent course. Washington's fear of an uprising was only too well founded for on July 12—the very day the ships forced the Hudson passage—it was reported a dangerous loyalist insurrection had just been suppressed in that county with the aid of Connecticut militiamen. Yet, curiously, when the news spread through Dutchess that a British squadron was actually in the Tappan Zee, both Tories and Whigs were equally distressed. Poughkeepsie was thrown into "great Confusion," people along the river packed and moved inland, and loyalists and patriots worked side by side near the shipyard to construct fortifications to protect the frigates.

Washington at once made efforts to thwart the danger from the squadron. Orders were sent to the commandant in the Hudson Highlands to put Forts Constitution and Montgomery in the best possible state of defense. Couriers were sent up the valley and into western Connecticut to summon the militia. Stores and provisions were removed from the shores where they were in danger of capture. Supply magazines were formed for emergency use. Loyalists were watched. Preparations were made to obstruct the river temporarily with sloops and fireships in the Highlands, while other plans were discussed to stretch a more effective "boom" across the Hudson at Fort Montgomery, twenty miles north of the British anchorage.

A brigade from Massachusetts which was on its way to reinforce the New York garrison, and hundreds of hastily gathered



JULY 12-25, 1776
The Tappan Zee & Haverstraw Bay

Connecticut militiamen luckily arrived at Peekskill in time to take station along the east shore of the river. The Hudson Valley militiamen were posted in the forts and Highland defiles. Apprehensive that Parker and Wallace might take advantage of a dark night to sail through the mountains, large piles of brushwood and combustibles were heaped along the rocky shore opposite Fort Montgomery which could be set afire, if the squadron hove in sight, to illuminate the entire area and make the ships visible to the American artillerymen. The New York Convention and the officers on duty in the Highlands could only wait for the British to make the next move and hope for the best.

II

INTERIM: "PIRATES" ON THE RIVER

Anchorage in Haverstraw Bay

While the American military and civil authorities took steps to meet the unexpected emergency, Parker and Wallace exchanged felicitations on their successful passage of the American batteries. On the day following their anchorage in the Tappan Zee they dined together on board the *Rose*, and other dinner engagements were later exchanged between the captains and their officers. On the morning of July 13 the luckless occupants of the periauger seized off Sneden's Landing were sent from the *Rose* to the *Phoenix* where they were questioned by Parker about the strength of the Continental Army at New York. Parker cursed the two terrified men as damned rebels and demanded that they secure fresh provisions on shore for his squadron or he would burn their boat, and he insisted on holding Fowler's son as hostage to insure their return. Fowler and Stophell were sent ashore to Westchester County, but their arrival was observed by the militia and they were taken into custody and sent under guard to the White Plains Gaol.

Several British barges were sent to sound the river. At noon on the thirteenth one of the barges and a cutter attempted to land on the Orange County shore, but the cutter grounded offshore and the militia fired on the barge and forced her to return to the shipping. Another barge approached the west shore in the evening and she was "spoken to" by the American guards, but no violence was attempted, though the Americans hourly expected an attack.

But as the warm days passed Parker and Wallace began to realize that their position was not as favorable as they had thought. An officer on board the *Rose*, who kept an account of the expedition, gazed at the "delightful country" rimmed by the Nyack and Tarrytown hills and reported the "people on shore" flocked down daily to gaze at the ships "as the rebels had reported that they would sink the Navy of England in attempting to pass the city." Though the frigates were anchored far beyond musket range, the Orange and Westchester farmer-militia proved a watchful foe, and the diarist complained that "We have not the least prospect of getting provisions or water (nothwithstanding the general report that we had a number of friends), as they keep a guard on shore on each side."

A few loyalists ventured from shore in small periaugers to the squadron, but this was hardly sufficient encouragement to warrant a further stay in the Tappan Zee, and the British captains accordingly made plans to sail with the first wind some ten miles farther up the river in order to provision themselves by force. Parker and Wallace may have decided on this course when a young Englishman, about twenty-eight years old, boarded the *Rose* from Haverstraw on Sunday, the fourteenth, with information that there was pork, rum, and molasses stored at Kiers' Dock on the west shore above Verdrietige Hook.

The fair wind they awaited blew two days later. On Tuesday morning, July 16, the five vessels hove anchor and stood upstream between 10:00 and 11:00. Two hours later they sailed past the impressive headland of Verdrietige Hook and the low

THE HUDSON RIVER, LOOKING SOUTH FROM CROTON POINT

Formerly known as Teller's Point. In the distance appears the bold headland of Verdrietige Hook, now Hook Mountain, and at the right the south end of Haverstraw Bay where the British squadron anchored from July 16 to 19, 1776. Kiers' Dock was situated at the base of the Short Clove gap on the opposite shore.

Photograph by the author, 1949

promontory of Teller's Point into the lower reaches of Haverstraw Bay. The *Phoenix* and *Rose* dropped anchor about seven miles north of the Nyack anchorage, but the tenders cruised around for half an hour before they too came to anchor opposite the house and dock of Captain Edward William Kiers on the Orange shore. Four armed barges were manned and sent towards the dock to seize—as was expected by the Orange County people—herds of sheep and cattle which had already been driven off. The tenders moved in to cover the barges, but a few hastily gathered Haverstraw militiamen hurried to the threatened point and forced the barges to pull back by firing some well-directed shots at the boats.

As soon as the squadron started upstream the militia on both shores of the Tappan Zee shouldered their muskets and long fowling pieces and hurried northward to the shores of Haverstraw Bay. A small detachment arrived at Haverstraw from Fort

THE HIGHLANDS OF THE HUDSON, 1940

This panoramic view encompasses much of the area where the British squadron operated in July and August 1776. In the foreground are seen the Bear Mountain Bridge, which spans the river to Anthony's Nose, and the wooded bluff at the confluence of the Hudson with Popolopen Creek, where Fort Montgomery stood. In the center is the long ridge of the Dunderberg, and in the upper left the broad reaches of Haverstraw Bay and the Tappan Zee.

Courtesy of the New York Daily News

Montgomery on the 17th to help protect the inhabitants, and on the same day Brigadier-General George Clinton, commanding officer of the Orange and Ulster militia, arrived from the Highlands to ascertain the situation along the threatened shore. He found the Haverstraw bank lined, as he said, with an insubordinate and "undisciplined Ra[b]ble" who were firing at the ships with small arms, even though more than a mile distant. The frigates were returning a contemptuous exchange of cannon fire for musket fire, shot for shot. Clinton took the disorganized situa-

tion effectively in hand, reorganized the militia detachments, and ordered the livestock and goods in the storehouses moved inland.

On Wednesday afternoon, July 17, while Clinton was strengthening the Haverstraw command, one of the British tenders weighed anchor and started upstream to sound the river. She beat her way past Stony and Verplanck's Points at the north end of Haverstraw Bay, sailed into Peekskill Bay, and then headed unwarily into the Highland river channel commanded by the guns of Fort Montgomery.

The British seamen were probably completely ignorant of the fortification at the edge of the Popolopen gorge, and when they approached within long-range cannon shot of the earthworks—still more than two miles distant—the American artillerists fired a single well-aimed 32-pound shot from the Grand Battery which struck the tender's stern. The audacious craft hastily bore away and sailed back around the point of the Dunderberg and came to off the frame house of Jacob Halstead on the west shore at the base of the mountain.

Halstead, a poor forty-one-year-old farmer, blind in one eye, had hurried to drive his cattle into the woods when the tender first sailed past his solitary abode. He was still absent when she anchored and sent her barges to his rocky farm. The sailors plundered his garden and stole one of his calves, and then put off to the tender and continued down to the anchorage off Kiers' Dock. The American militia posted on Stony and Verplanck's Points fired with muskets at the vessel as she passed, to which the tender returned cannon fire which did no damage.

The Halstead Farm Raid

Rebuffed in their attempt to land at Kiers' Dock, the British sought another landing place where they could secure provisions and learn something about the loyalists in the vicinity. The Halstead Farm seemed at that moment a likely objective, and on the

afternoon of July 18 the *Rose* and *Trial*, accompanied by one of the tenders, sailed upstream to attempt a second landing on the Dunderberg shore. The Americans on Stony and Verplanck's Points again opened fire and forced the tender to direct her course towards shore to protect a British barge which was exposed to the American musketry. The tender unluckily ran aground in the shallow depths near Stony Point, but the *Rose* and *Trial* continued up the river and dropped anchor around 4:00 nearly abreast the Halstead farmhouse. Wallace sent two unarmed barges ashore to learn if the occupant was a loyalist.

When Halstead first looked down the Hudson and observed the hostile craft on the river, he had an uneasy apprehension that his lonely abode would again be the scene of a British plundering party. Some American soldiers were nearby, but they were so certain that Halstead's poverty was "sufficient protection" against an enemy raid that they did not even bother to station anybody on his property. Halstead started to remove and conceal a few of his meager belongings, but before he could finish the vessels cast anchor and the barges touched shore "a little above" the building. Instead of waiting to see what was in the offing, he grabbed a gun and climbed up the rocky slope of the Dunderberg behind the house.

He soon heard somebody knocking at the door and then a voice called out to the men in the barge to come up for there was nobody at home. Halstead saw badly with his one good eye, but despite this infirmity he made his way over the uneven ground and fired on the sailors from his hidden vantage point. The British hurriedly ran back to the waterside, some wading into the river up to their waists before they managed to scramble aboard the barges and row back to the vessels.

Wallace ordered the *Trial* to cover a second landing of armed men in three barges who came ashore some two hundred yards south of the building. Some of the sailors started to shoot Halstead's hogs to take on board ship, while others, enraged because they had been fired upon, swarmed along the craggy shore and

set the house on fire. The building was consumed in a few minutes.

Halstead watched in helpless rage while the enemy killed his animals and destroyed his home. With nothing to be gained by resistance other than captivity or death, he fled inland along a lonely Highland trail to the home of Stephen Parr in a secluded valley between the Bockberg and Dunderberg while the sailors completed their plunder. They carried twelve emaciated hogs on board the *Rose* and six on board the *Trial*, and one American account stated that all Wallace secured for his personal share was "a handkerchief full of salad and a pig so very poor that a crew would scarcely deign to eat it."

The vessels immediately weighed anchor and headed downstream against a strong tide and contrary wind to protect the grounded tender off Stony Point. As the *Rose* and *Trial* backed and filled through the passage between Stony and Verplanck's Points, they too became targets for the militiamen who fired their musket balls through the nettings like a hailstorm. The tender finally got off around 10:00 that night after remaining aground for six hours, and she joined the *Rose* and *Trial* at the north end of Haverstraw Bay as black storm clouds darkened the sky.

The night which followed was one of rain and thunder which reverberated across the Highlands into the distant abysmal blackness. Under the appropriate cover of this terrible darkness an American captive on board the *Rose*—Richard Turpin, who had been taken at sea—took advantage of a long-sought opportunity to slip overboard into the murky waters and swim to Stony Point. On July 19 he was sent by the militia to Haverstraw for interrogation by Hay and his officers, who felt that only their lack of cannon and small boats had prevented either the capture or destruction of the grounded tender the day before. From Turpin the Americans finally secured their first trustworthy account of the intentions of the British invaders, who, they learned, were "highly mortified" to find conditions on the river totally different from what they had expected.

Holding the Line

The destruction of Halstead's house and the plunder of his farm were regarded by the Americans as wanton piracy, and up and down the river they cursed the British as freebooters and piratical rovers. In the days which followed nothing further of a hostile nature was attempted by the seamen. On July 19 the *Rose* and *Trial* and the tender dropped downstream, the *Phoenix* and her tender stood up the Hudson, and all five vessels anchored in the upper reaches of the bay nearly abreast Colonel Hay's Haverstraw home. The frigates lay so close to the Orange County shore that the names painted on their sterns could be easily discerned by the Americans through spyglasses. The sandbags which had been piled along the bulwarks since July 12 were removed. Awnings were spread over the decks to protect the men from the fierce July sun. Barges were sent to sound the river, and others on patrol to create constant threats to the neighboring shores.

The strenuous duty of the American militiamen, however, did not lessen with the comparative inactivity of the vessels. Lacking cannon and whaleboats with which to combat the enemy effectively, they could do little but remain on the defensive, while the ability of the squadron and the barges to move swiftly from place to place was an additional handicap to the troops on shore. Parker and Wallace made "Several Movements" on the twentieth which forced the defenders to be constantly on guard, and one of the tenders and a periauger—probably the little craft captured near Sneden's Landing on July 12—sailed up the river towards the Halstead house, but made no attempt to land. The following night another barge was observed as it was being rowed down the Hudson past Teller's Point, and at dawn on July 22, probably as a result of this nocturnal foray, a bullock brought by barge from the Westchester shore was hoisted with great rejoicing into the *Rose*. No important supplies reached the British from Orange County, though Hay's guards did see cabbages being delivered to the squadron by loyalists in a canoe.

III

AMERICAN COUNTEROFFENSIVE

New York: The Blow is Prepared

Once Washington's express riders had galloped up the dusty Hudson Valley highways with his letters of warning in the days following July 12, the Commander-in-Chief could offer little immediate help to the impatient militiamen on duty along the river. Faced with the growing strength of the British fleet in the New York waters and the military forces on Staten Island, Washington was fully occupied in preparing to meet the enemy offensive against his own lines. Though he was anxious about the presence of the squadron on the Hudson, he was unable to send the troops and cannon, or even the whaleboats which the New York Convention and the officers along the river requested of him to combat Parker and Wallace. He sent a little ammunition, offered advice, commended the alacrity with which the militia rallied to the defense, and sent an experienced engineer to help complete the Highland fortifications, but for the moment that was all.

However, it was imperative that effective offensive measures should be undertaken by the Americans against the "pirates" on the Hudson if the Continental Army was to remain secure in its flank and rear. The Fort Washington defenses, which had failed to block the enemy, were strengthened. A new fort—later named Fort Constitution and then Fort Lee—was begun on the summit of the Palisades from which to rake the Hudson with increased firepower. At the same time a grandiose scheme was devised to sink a line of hulks and timber cribs weighted with stone across the river between Fort Washington and the Jersey shore to prevent both the return of the squadron and the ascent of the river by other ships of Howe's fleet.

At New York fireships and two Continental row galleys were under construction, and in addition Washington hurriedly se-

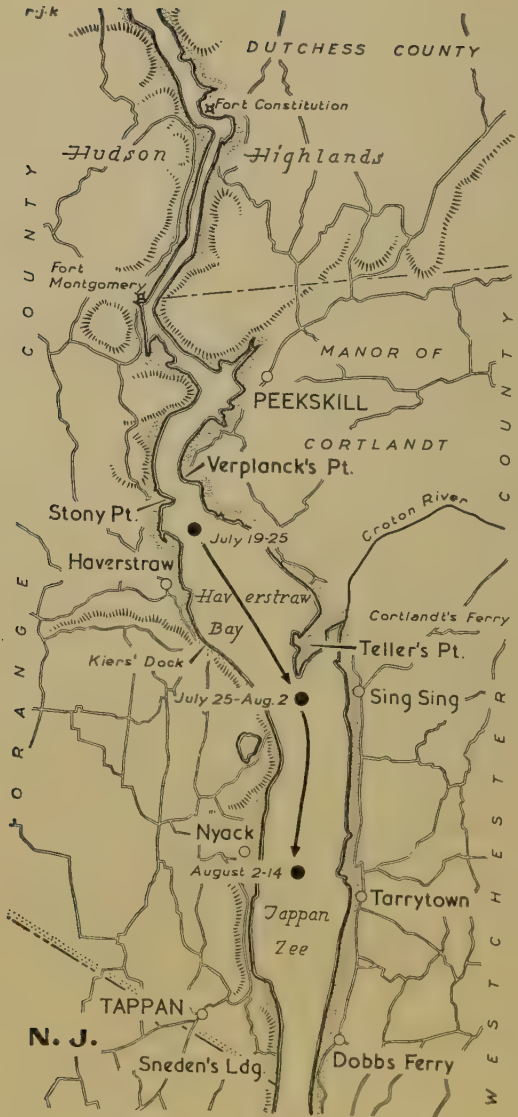
cured from the governors of Connecticut and Rhode Island the armed galleys on duty in their seaport towns. Washington hoped that when the galleys nearing completion at New York were finished all could then be sent upstream against the British frigates, "as the Channel they now occupy is narrow which will prevent working their Guns to Advantage." By July 28 three of the Connecticut galleys and two from Rhode Island had arrived at the city. Their crews were augumented with volunteers and troops detached from the Army, heavy guns were swung on board to replace the light pieces, and they were provisioned with the ammunition and supplies necessary for action.

Great were the hopes which the Americans placed on the fireships, the river obstructions, and the galleys. Word began to pass through the camps that "something great" would soon be attempted with fireships against the fleet in the harbor and the squadron in Haverstraw Bay. Washington himself posted word to Congress at the end of July that when everything was complete he would attempt to destroy the squadron under Parker and Wallace and employ the galleys "if they can be of Advantage."

On the Sabbath of July 28 one of the Continental galleys completed at New York and one of the Connecticut galleys sailed fourteen miles up the Hudson to Spuyten Duyvil Creek to lie in wait for the squadron when it came down the river. Two days later the other two Connecticut galleys sailed upstream in the night and on August 1 the Rhode Island galleys followed them to the rendezvous. One soldier wrote with a measure of confidence that if the galleys struck against the British "I make no doubt we shall be able to give a good account of them."

The Sing Sing Waters

The British ascent of the Hudson, however, had run its course by the time the American galleys were ready for action. At 10:30 on the morning of July 25, after lying off Haverstraw for nine days, the British squadron stood downstream with a fair wind



JULY 25 - AUGUST 2, 1776
The Tappan Zee & Haverstraw Bay

and anchored about an hour later opposite the little Westchester hamlet of Sing Sing. Some Americans suspected that Parker and Wallace were aware of the plan to trap them in the river. Colonel William Douglas, whose regiment at New York had been in the thick of the bombardment on July 12, wrote to his wife on the twenty-seventh that "the Ships that went up the River I beleave would now be glad they were Safe back to their old Station by their motion." The Fort Washington commandant sent word to Washington that the movement of the squadron below Teller's Point confirmed a belief that the British naval officers must have received information that the Americans were preparing obstructions off Fort Washington, and the frigates were probably making ready to rejoin the fleet before the trap was complete.

Parker and Wallace undoubtedly had opportunity to know something of what was going on within the American lines. Though the great numbers of loyalists they expected never did appear, a few, mainly from Westchester, were indefatigable in making their devious and stealthy journeys to the squadron under cover of night in canoes and small craft with supplies and information. Some remained on board for several days. The greater vigilance, however, of the American guards along the Orange shore prevented the British from receiving anything from there, though one of the Orange Countymen, Robert Sneden, was rumored to be on board in the important capacity of a pilot, and the entire Sneden family, who ran the ferry across the Hudson at the lower end of the county, was under suspicion of carrying on a treasonable correspondence with "our unnatural enemies, or ships-of-war belonging to the King of Great Britain" in the river.

Between July 25 and August 2 the British attempted once to land on the west shore in a barge, but were driven back by the militia. On the east shore, though, the reluctance of the Hudson Valley militia and the New England volunteers to remain on lengthy duty at a time when their ripe fields of grain demanded attention occasioned many of them to head homeward, with a result that by Saturday the river bank near Peekskill was prac-

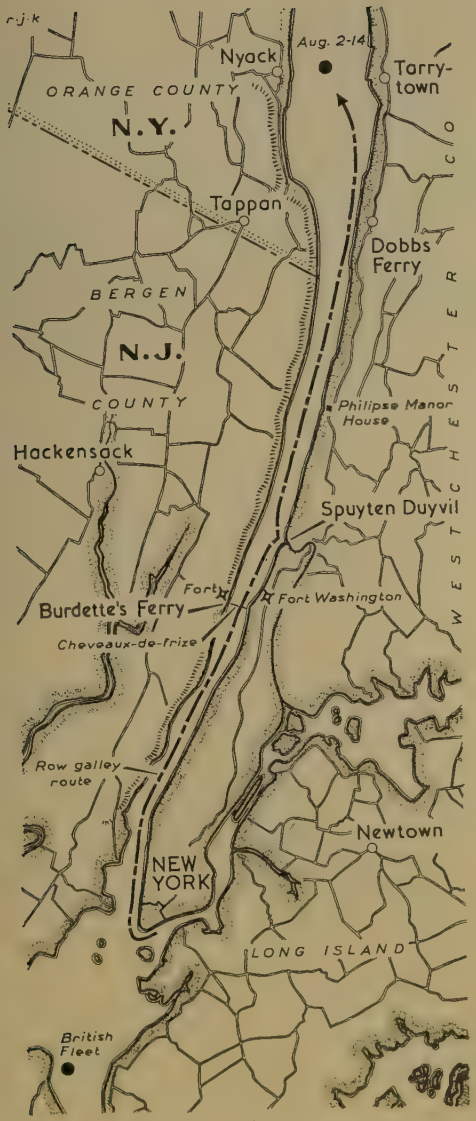
tically unguarded. This information was probably soon conveyed to the squadron by loyalists, and on Sunday night Parker and Wallace took advantage of the laxity of the Americans to dispatch a party of seamen in barges upstream to secure provisions from the property of one of the loyalists on board the *Phoenix*. They rowed six miles up the river into Haverstraw Bay, landed somewhere on the Westchester shore, and moved inland for about half a mile to the farm of a man named Bailey where they appropriated a yoke of oxen, two cows, a calf, and eleven sheep and returned unmolested to the ships with livestock sufficient for three days.

The Row Galley Attack

Parker and Wallace were still riding at anchor below Teller's Point early on August 2, but sometime during the morning they weighed anchor and stood down the river. They had not gone far before the *Phoenix* ran aground in the shoal water of the Tappan Zee off Tarrytown. Word of this accident was quickly dispatched by the Americans to the galleys off Spuyten Duyvil Creek, which were all under command of Washington's whaleboat commandant, Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin Tupper of the 21st Continental Infantry, an active thirty-eight-year-old officer from Massachusetts.

The six American vessels yawing at their cables in the changing tides were the Continental galley *Lady Washington* under Captain Robert Cook, built at New York, and the New England galleys *Crane*, Captain Jehiel Tinker; *Shark*, Captain Theophilus Stanton; *Whiting*, Captain John McCleave; *Spitfire*, Captain John Grimes, and the *Washington* under Captain Hill. Tupper and his officers had intended to await the appearance of the enemy squadron in the waters off the lower end of Westchester County before attempting to harass them, but the grounding of the *Phoenix* offered an advantageous opportunity for attack which was too tempting to overlook.

The galleys started upstream in the intense heat of August 2 to "annoy" the squadron, but the fifteen-mile distance to Tarry-

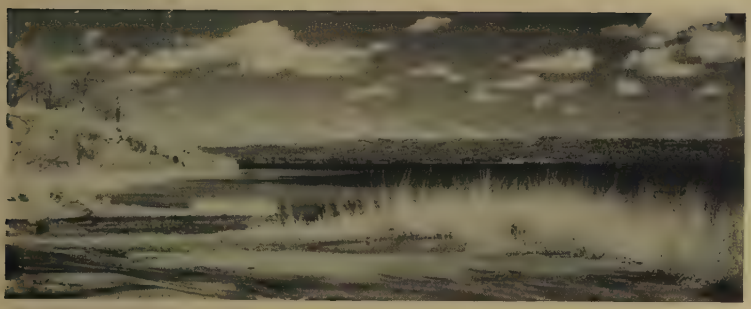


AUGUST 3, 1776
The Row Galley Attack

town was too great to allow them to go into action the same day. The delay was of benefit to the British, for it afforded Parker time to send his crewmen below into the sweating confines of his lower deck to run about half of the cannon forward to lighten the stern. They struggled with the guns all day, and about 10:00 that night the frigate finally floated clear after being aground for twelve hours.

On Saturday morning, the third, another hot day, the British made final preparations to meet an attack. Parker's cannon were back in place, but the grounding of the *Phoenix* forcefully evinced to the British captains the danger of attempting to manoeuvre in the treacherous shoals of the Tappan Zee. To safeguard against the peril of grounding a second time, Parker and Wallace decided to remain at their present station with spring cables. This was simply an expedient of anchoring each frigate with two lines in order to prevent them from being laid open to a raking enemy fire by a shifting current or the maneuvering of the galleys. A heavy hawser clinched to the anchor ring was taken astern outside the hull to the aftermost port and then reeved through a large block into the ship and brought forward to the capstan. In such manner the *Phoenix* and *Rose* were both moored, fore and aft, with lines converging to an anchor pivot, and each line could be played out or taken in at the capstan to facilitate turning the frigates in any direction.

Though the British had the weight of metal in their favor, Tupper was certain the prevailing lack of wind would be to his benefit. He had hoped to strike while the *Phoenix* was aground, but he felt he still had the advantage. It was his intent to row in position off the frigates' quarters in order to rake their decks. The decision was that of courageous men, for, as one American wrote, the ground-tier of even one side of the *Phoenix* "was equal to all the force of our galleys put together." What Tupper did not immediately suspect was that the frigates had springs on their cables with which, despite the lack of wind, they could turn their broadsides and counter his every move.



THE TAPPAN ZEE

Looking towards Tarrytown and the Westchester hills from the Bight at Nyack. Scene of the British anchorage of July 12–16 and August 2–14, 1776, and of the American row galley attack on August 3.

Photograph by the author, 1951

Tupper hoisted his flag on the *Washington* and ordered the anchors heaved in. The galleys swarmed with enthusiastic volunteers, among them one of Washington's own aides-de-camp. The lanteen sails were dropped, but they hung limp in the dead air while strong hands, four men to an oar, accustomed to the heaving currents of the cold New England waters, took hold of the long sweeps. The slender oars lifted and fell in rhythm as the galleys formed in single line ahead of the frigates and moved slowly up the river towards the squadron.

Everything was in readiness on board the *Phoenix* and *Rose*. The springs had been adjusted. The gun and capstan crews stood ready. Long lines of cable and hawser lay on the decks to be played out and taken in when the order came. Round shot, bar shot, chain shot, sacks of grape and powder had been brought from the gun rooms and magazines. Rammers and sponges were lifted from the racks. Wormers, ladles, and waterbuckets were close at hand. The tompions were removed. Cannon were shotted and the breechings were adjusted. Below, in the dim cockpits, the surgeons made ready their instruments and waited for the inevitable casualties if the galleys struck.

Parker and Wallace masked their position as they watched the Americans through spyglasses from the holystoned quarterdecks, and they allowed the galleys to approach within three cables' length of the frigates before they passed the order to heave the springs. It was then about 1:15 in the afternoon. The tars thrust heavily upon the capstan bars. The cables and hawsers strained in the hawseholes and blocks as the slack lines were hove taut, and then were veered away—now a little of one, now a little of the other. The frigates began to turn slowly. The broadsides were brought to bear and the guns were aligned on the galleys through the triced-up gunports.

The fray opened when the *Phoenix* let fly the first shot. The advanced galley, *Lady Washington*, returned one from the 32-pounder in her bow which entered the *Phoenix*, according to Tupper. The galley, however, was out of position, and Tupper hurriedly ordered her to put about and form in line while he advanced with the *Washington* within grape shot range of the frigates. Captain Grimes, a gallant fellow from Newport, joined him with the *Spitfire*, and the two vessels sustained the full force of the British fire from fifteen to thirty minutes—luckily without receiving much damage—before the other galleys came within fire of the British guns, as the tide had wasted them more towards the Westchester shore than the pilots had anticipated.

Despite the ability of the frigates to turn their broadsides, Tupper's oarsmen skillfully maneuvered their swift-moving craft into positions which brought both the *Phoenix* and *Rose* into a direct line of fire, and forced Parker's gunners to fire between the masts of the *Rose* to reach the galleys with their shot. The courage and skill of the American attack earned the reluctant admiration of even the British seamen, one of whom reported that the Americans "behaved exceeding well, and with good conduct" against the barrage of round and grape shot which the British concentrated against the galleys as fast as they could load and fire the cannon. A sailor on board the *Washington* reported that "we had as hot a fire as perhaps ever was known,"

and continued that "Never did men behave with more firm determined spirit than our little crews."

For more than an hour and a half the sweating gun crews thrust their wet swabs down the hot bores, rammed in their charges of powder and shot, and sent their destructive missiles hurling across the Tappan Zee. The heavy smoke of cannonfire was observed far downstream by the Pennsylvania troops at Fort Washington, and the ominous detonations were even heard by the British on Staten Island, nearly thirty miles down the valley. The galleys received considerable damage to their riggings, sails, and spars. The *Lady Washington*, after hulling the *Phoenix* six times, had her 32-pounder split seven inches and the tackles and breechings carried away. The flag-galley *Washington* was hulled thirteen times and received three shots in her waist. Many of her oars were carried off and the ledgings of her bow guns were knocked away, making it impossible for them to be worked by the gunners. Both the *Shark* and *Spitfire* were hulled, the latter having the bad luck to receive one shot at the waterline which was not immediately discovered. Soon she was half leg deep in water, on the careen, and in danger of sinking if not withdrawn.

As the British shot took effect and hampered the effectiveness of the attacking squadron, Tupper thought it best to disengage the enemy. At 3:00 in the afternoon his oarsmen again manned the slender sweeps and rowed the battered vessels some four miles down the Hudson to Dobbs Ferry. While the tired crews rested amid the wreckage and tended to their wounded comrades, Tupper consulted with his captains about their next move. The damage was ascertained and a count was taken of the casualties: two men were dead and fourteen wounded, some mortally. One man on the *Whiting* lost both legs.

About 5:30 the Commodore sent a short report to Washington and said that they were thinking of withdrawing to Spuyten Duyvil Creek, but had not yet reached a decision. "We wish to give them another drubbing," he wrote. One of his seamen was

certain that if the tide or channel had prevented the British from placing springs on the cables to bring their broadsides to bear, the galleys could "have managed them in our river without much difficulty."

The British reported that the *Phoenix* received three shots in her hull, and the *Rose* nine and "to some advantage." There were no casualties on the *Phoenix*, but the *Rose* had one man killed and two wounded—one losing a leg and the other an arm. The diarist on the *Rose* boastfully wrote that if the British had had the advantage of a wind they certainly could have destroyed every one of the galleys.

While Parker and Wallace consoled themselves with the knowledge that they had beaten off a dangerous rebel attack, the spirit of the Americans was undimmed, for it gave them heart that they had the courage and strength with which, under favorable conditions, they could strike effectively at the Royal Navy. Washington's Adjutant-General wrote that the crews behaved "extremely well," especially those on the Rhode Island galleys, while one of the New Englanders wrote that the enterprise was worthy of people fighting for their rights, and:

> . . . Judge then—let the world, let our enemies judge—if the sons of Connecticut and Rhode Island, from which States our galleys were almost wholly officered and manned, did not behave with a spirit and intrepidity becoming the descendants of such noble ancestors, in fighting, for two hours, an enemy of at least four times their force. Oh! ye despicable Ministerial bawlers! it could only have entered into such servilely dastard souls as your own to believe that the brave Americans were cowards.

Washington himself stated that the officers and men "behaved with great Spirit and bravery; the damage done the Gallies shews beyond question, that they had a warm time of it." However, before another attack could be launched, the galleys had to be repaired. The job was finished within two days and a "more Advantageous Attack" was planned as soon as Tupper could be joined by the second galley from New York. One of the crew on board the *Washington* looked forward to another stroke "at those pirates, before they leave our river, which God prosper."

Prelude for Fireships

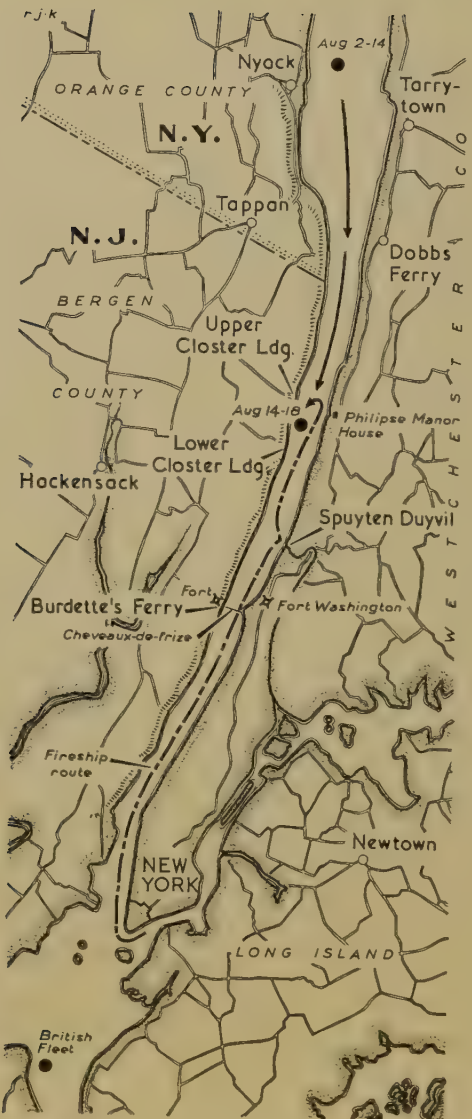
While the galley officers awaited another opportunity for attack, work was being steadily pushed forward on the Hudson River obstructions off Fort Washington. In spite of difficulties which at times seemed almost insurmountable, the obstructions slowly took shape, and hopes were high that they would soon prove an effective barrier against the enemy. The Americans, according to one soldier at New York, were now "thoroughly sanguine" that Parker and Wallace would never be able to rejoin the fleet, and Howe would be unable to send assistance, so "we may set them down as our own."

The British continued at the Tarrytown anchorage for eleven days after the galley attack: days in which Parker and Wallace fretfully watched the river in expectation of another attack. They prepared for action again on August 8 when they discerned in the distance, about a dozen miles downstream, some twelve enemy vessels apparently maneuvering for an engagement, but the American craft did not venture near the British shipping.

Further opportunity for the British to threaten the Orange and Westchester shores and maintain communication with the loyalists lessened with each passing day as the militia increased in strength. On August 6 Colonel Thomas Thomas of the Westchester troops recommended to Washington that a battery of three or four cannon could be placed on an eminence at Tarrytown within half a mile of the ships, and if the plan was thought feasible it might be practicable to order "the Commodore of the galleys" to postpone a further attack until the battery was ready. Indeed, by this time a feeling was prevalent that the shores were finally secure against the enemy.

The Fireships Strike

On August 14 Parker and Wallace weighed anchor at Tarrytown and moved farther down the river. At 2:30 in the afternoon of a pleasant day they cast anchor in mid-stream opposite



AUGUST 16, 1776
The Fireship Attack

the Philipse Manor House at the mouth of the Neperhan River at Yonkers. With the approach of the five vessels to a position within four and one-half miles above Spuyten Duyvil Creek, the Americans felt the time was ready for the dreaded stroke now put into operation by their naval command. More deadly than the galleys was a projected night attack with fire vessels which had been prepared at New York under the supervision of Lieutenant Ephraim Anderson of the Second New Jersey Battalion.

By the second week of August two of the fireships were ready. One was the nearly new Albany sloop *Polly* of about ninety or one-hundred tons burden, and the second a schooner of some sixty tons, the name of which has not been preserved. Both had been carefully fitted out in July and early August and every precaution taken to meet any eventuality in case of mishap. The holds of these weird craft were filled with empty hogsheads to prevent the vessels from sinking in case they were penetrated by the enemy's shot. Two gutters, each about six inches wide and ten deep, had been constructed along the entire length of the port and starboard bulwarks and into the aft cabins through openings cut in the bulkheads. In the bottom of each trough lay a train of fine gunpowder to a depth of about half an inch. This was then covered with bunches of straw soaked in brimstone, and on top of this small fagots of black birch twigs dipped in rosin.

Some ten or twelve barrels filled with pitch pine fagots and melted rosin stood on the decks, and between them bundles of birch twigs dipped in rosin were stowed up to the gunwales. Strips of turpentine-soaked canvas dangled from the riggings and spars. Grappling irons were fastened to the ends of the square sail and spritsail yards, to the flying jibboom, and to the gaft and main booms, with long chains leading down to the decks where they were firmly bolted in place. Everything was prepared so that it would be the work of but an instant to set both vessels aflame.

The attempt to burn the squadron was planned for the night

of August 14, and the "person who had the direction of the fire-vessels"—probably either Anderson or Tupper—requested Major-General William Heath of the Continental Army to witness the destruction of the ships. The two firecraft left the city on the morning of the fourteenth and started up the Hudson with a light and variable wind for a rendezvous with the galleys at Spuyten Duyvil Creek, but they were hindered by the weight of the cumbersome grappling irons which made it impossible for them to reach their destination by the appointed time.

Heath, in company with Brigadier-General George Clinton, who had come down from the Highlands, waited on the dark Westchester shore until after midnight, but the fireships failed to make their appearance. On that very night, moreover, while Heath and Clinton chafed impatiently, a petty officer and six British sailors were dispatched in a whaleboat from the *Phoenix*, and they passed silently down the river through the sunken obstructions and and the American harbor patrols to the fleet off Staten Island, probably—judging by what soon transpired—with word that Parker and Wallace would endeavor to rejoin the fleet.

Though the first attempt to burn the frigates failed to materialize, a second effort followed two days later. The tardy fireships reached Spuyten Duyvil Creek on August 15 and cast anchor near three of the galleys which were under orders from Washington to take the fireships in tow and proceed up the river as far as it was safe for them to venture. The dangerous task of manning the firecraft, each with a crew of an officer and nine men, had been assigned to skilled Army volunteers from the New England seaports. Anderson himself had hoped to participate in the enterprise, but his health was bad and he had to relinquish his desire to go on active service. The command of the schooner was given to a Rhode Islander, Ensign John Thomas of the 11th Continental Infantry, and the sloop to Ensign Thomas Updike Fosdick of New London, a "Good hearty

SCENE OF THE FIRESHIP ATTACK

Looking up the Hudson towards the Tappan Zee from the base of the Palisades near Lower Closter Landing. The *Phoenix* and *Rose* were anchored in the distance on the night of August 16, 1776, when the American fireships attacked the British ships opposite the Yonkers shore.

Photograph by the author, 1949

fellow" who served in Captain Nathan Hale's company of the 19th Continental Infantry.

The time finally selected was the dark and rainy night of Friday, August 16. Heath and Clinton and several other officers were again waiting on the Yonkers shore, having received "positive assurances" that this time they would not be disappointed. As the long day drew to a close the galleys moved into position to take Thomas and Fosdick in tow, and in the gathering dusk they started upstream with a south wind and favorable tide.

Their objective was the *Phoenix*. Tupper had given orders to Thomas to keep about one hundred yards ahead of the *Polly* and to grapple the bow of the frigate, while Fosdick followed and fastened his sloop to the stern. Each crewman on board the fireships had a specific duty: four were to handle the grappling irons,

one acted as pilot, and one stood ready in the aft cabin with a lighted fuse to ignite matches inserted in the powder troughs. An opening chopped in the stern provided an avenue of escape to a whaleboat lashed to each vessel, manned by three men who were to cut the lashings as soon as the crew came aboard.

Night fell fast. Occasional rain fell and soon it became so dark and foggy that the seamen could barely discern objects fifty yards ahead. They were under full headway in the middle of the river abreast the Manor of Philipsborough when they heard the sharp stroke of a ship's bell immediately to port and the distant call—"All's well!"—of the British deck watch. The galley crews quickly cast off and heaved in the wet towropes and bid Godspeed to the volunteers as they fell astern to await the outcome of the nocturnal adventure.

It was now between 11:00 and midnight. Having almost miscalculated the distance, the fireships swung hard to port and approached the squadron from the northeast. Thomas and Fosdick steered solely by the sound of the bell and the call of the sentinel. The small cluster of American officers on the Westchester shore strained their eyes through the gloom and perceived the firecraft "silently moving up with the tide."

Parker and Wallace previously had shifted their anchorage into the deeper water near the Jersey shore, where the shadow of the Palisades cast even a darker shade over the five vessels. According to Joseph Bass who was in the *Polly's* whaleboat, the squadron was anchored in a line almost due north and south: first, and farthest south, was the *Phoenix*, then the *Rose*, the *Trial*, and the two tenders. At 8:00 the *Phoenix* had sent a boat to row guard, but as the fireships approached the British seemed completely oblivious of the terror which hovered over them. The eerie darkness, the uncertainty of success, and the certainty of destruction, according to Bass, were sufficient "to awaken a panic in the stoutest heart," while the "awful destruction" awaiting the victims was enough to "stagger the resolution of the bravest."

Ensign Thomas was well ahead of the sloop when all of a sudden the black shape of the *Charlotta* appeared before him, anchored directly in advance of the *Phoenix*. The darkness prevented him from ascertaining her identity until it was too late, and before he could change course and make for the frigate according to instructions he was forced to grapple the tender. It was the work of but an instant to throw and make fast the grapnels and give the order to fire the troughs. The explosive effect of the powder turned the fireship into a blinding holocaust as the flames raced into the rosin barrels and the fierce burning of combustibles lit up the murky darkness. Flames roared into the sky. Smoke billowed forth. Lines of fire ran into the rigging. The sails turned to sheets of flame. The turpentine-soaked rags danced with light amid the heat and crackle of the burning pine fagots.

Thomas, however, due to his own prudence, had made a fatal mistake. Apprehensive that his powder had been dampened by the rain, he had primed the troughs anew and opened both at the bow so they could be fired both fore and aft. He thought the crew still would have ample time to make their escape. Two of his men—Thomas Harris and a soldier named Burns—were badly seared by the flames but they succeeded with great difficulty in making their way to the whaleboat where their oarsmen were anxiously waiting. Thomas and three others, cut off by the flames, jumped into the river and disappeared in the swift-flowing waters.

The crew of the *Charlotta* was in the utmost panic as the flames took hold of the tender and soon she was wrapped in a pyramid of flame. The seamen on the other vessels, thoroughly aroused and fearful that the rebel galleys were again upon them, raced up the companionways and some lowered small boats and pulled towards the stricken tender to rescue the sailors who jumped overboard. The burning of the "great Fire" was so intense that it was observed by the deck watches on the British fleet off Staten Island, twenty-two miles downstream. One of

The PHOENIX *and the* ROSE *Engaged by the* ENEMY'S FIRE SHIPS *and* GALLEYS *on the 16 Aug^st^ 1776. Engrav'd from the Original Picture by D. Serres from a sketch of Sir James Wallace's. Publish'd according to Act of Parliament April 2, 1778 by J. F. W. Des Barres Esq^r^.*

First State (above): *The New-York Historical Society*

Second State (below): *Courtesy of Mr. Irving S. Olds*

The American fireship attack on the British squadron in the Hudson River on August 16, 1776, so captured the imagination of the British that it became the subject of one of the very few naval prints issued during the American Revolution. The British

the crew of the *Polly*, with a flair for the dramatic, wrote that the unearthly light that gleamed upon the wild scenery, the roar of artillery, and "the groans and shrieks of those perishing in tortures at which humanity shudders" made it "a scene unrivalled in sublimity and terror."

Illuminated by the horrid light of the fireship and the burning *Charlotta*, the crews on the other vessels suddenly perceived the second fireship heading straight into their anchorage. Both Wallace and Parker spied the *Polly* when she was about a cable's length distant, and they desperately attempted to save their ships from the fiery fate which was consuming the doomed *Charlotta*. They cut their cables with axes and ordered their Marines and gunners to open fire on the ghastly sloop in order to turn her aside.

The British cannon shot struck the mast and rigging of the *Polly* and thudded into her hull, but Fosdick continued his course with resolute determination. Even if his courage failed, with intent to abandon the enterprise, the *Polly* was already under such headway that it was impossible to extricate her. Fosdick had almost been on the point of steering past the *Phoenix* when he discerned her by the light of the burning vessels. He quickly wore the *Polly* around, missed the *Rose's* stern as he sailed by, and as

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naval artist Dominique Serres (1722–1793), basing his work on a sketch by Sir James Wallace (1731–1803), captain of H.M.S. *Rose* at the time of the engagement, chose the dramatic moment when the fire sloop *Polly* under Ensign Thomas Updike Fosdick grappled the bow of the 44-gun frigate *Phoenix* (left). Immediately behind the *Polly* appears the blazing hulk of either Ensign Thomas's schooner or its victim, the British tender *Charlotta*. In the center is seen the frigate *Rose* and in the far distance the American row galleys which accompanied the fireships against the British squadron. On the right are the Palisades and on the left the dim Westchester shore of the Manor of Philipsborough and the Philipse Manor House at the mouth of the Neperhan River at Yonkers.

This print was issued in two states in the *Atlantic Neptune*, which was prepared and published for the use of the Royal Navy by the British Admiralty in 1763–84, under direction of Joseph Frederick Wallet Des Barres (1722–1824). The first state merely depicts the vessels on the river, but in the second the engraver has added the Palisades which add immeasurably to the dramatic effect of the scene. It is the second state which bears the publication date, April 2, 1778, after Captain Wallace had been knighted by King George III.

soon as he was close enough to the 44-gun frigate he gave the order to set her on fire.

The fireman in the little cabin lit the matches as Fosdick and every man on board escaped safely to the small boat and pulled for the shore with desperate speed. The flames sputtered into the combustibles with deadly effect and then up into the rigging and sail. The British gunners sent their shot after the disappearing whaleboat, but the Americans miraculously escaped injury and vanished into the dark mist from which they had come.

The *Polly* grated harshly against the starboard bow of the *Phoenix* ten minutes after Thomas had grappled the *Charlotta*. Fosdick and his New England seamen had done their work with efficient precision. The *Polly's* jibboom was thrust over the gunwhale of the frigate. The grappling irons hooked into the rigging and locked the vessels together, but the sloop had grappled to leeward and the wind proved insufficient to hold her against the *Phoenix* or drive the flames aboard.

Parker ordered his tars to hack away the entangled rigging and clear the grapnels. The confusion on board was plainly visible to the watchers on shore as the *Phoenix* and *Polly* lay alongside each other for about fifteen or twenty minutes. The British seamen, with steadiness and perseverance, chopped away the entangling encumbrances, while one sailor, it is said, leaped naked on board the sloop with an axe to knock away the grappling chains. Parker brought up with his stern anchor and the force of the tide separated the vessels. Luckily, too, for him, the *Polly's* shank-painter and stopper burned, which caused her to bring up for at least three minutes when her anchor dragged in the river. Parker took advantage of this opportunity to set his headsails and wear himself around. He ran up the Hudson for about two miles and was immediately veiled from sight by the darkness. Wallace, too, made sail and moved upstream after the *Phoenix*, leaving the other vessels at the scene of the holocaust, while the *Charlotta* and the fireships drifted crazily on the river until the flames were quenched at the water's edge.

Heath and the American officers on the Westchester shore were disappointed, for they evidently expected the galleys to launch an attack at the same time, and when the *Phoenix* stood upstream the *Rose* probably could have been captured. Heath afterwards informed Washington that the *Lady Washington* and the *Independence* "were conducted with great judgement and bravery" but the other galleys did nothing at all.

On their return to camp from their perilous enterprise the crews of the fireships were received "with the warmest acclamations of gratitude." Heath reported that none of the men sustained any injury except one sailor who was "considerably burned in the face, hands, &c." Washington commended their courageous spirit in his General Orders on August 18, and thanked them for "the spirit and resolution which they shewed in grappling the Vessels before they quitted the Fire Ships." As a reward for their merit he presented $50 to each man who stayed on board the vessels to the last and was somewhat burned, and $40 to each of the others, and "had the enterprise succeeded," the Commander-in-Chief continued, "so as to have destroyed either of the ships of war, the General could have been generous in proportion to the service."

When the crews presented themselves at Headquarters at 10:00 in the morning, Washington thanked them personally for their bravery. He gave them an order on the Paymaster for the reward money, which was "thankfully received," and the volunteers returned to their tents and spent the evening with their fellow soldiers drinking Washington's health and success to the Independence of America. Ensign Thomas's death was deeply regretted. Washington informed Governor Trumbull of Connecticut that Thomas probably perished while attempting to escape by swimming, "as he has not been heard of; His Bravery Intitled him to a better fate."

The attempt to burn the squadron made a lasting impression on the valiant seamen who went forth on the river with such intrepidity in the first year of American Independence. Long

after the war Stephen Hempstead and Thomas Harris of New London reminisced "with swelling hearts" on "the dreadful dangers which surrounded that little band of eighteen men, the most of whom are no more." The midnight terror also was deeply engraven in the mind of their adversary, Captain James Wallace, who made a sketch of the attack which was later utilized by the British naval artist Dominique Serres in a painting of the event.

Mounting Tension

The mounting fear within the American lines that a British naval assault against New York would soon be launched by Howe's fleet—perhaps in conjunction with the squadron off Westchester—prompted Washington to inform the New York Convention on August 17 that the city might soon be the scene of bloody conflict, and he viewed with the "most melancholy concern" the great numbers of women, children, and infirm people who still were in New York. Recalling their distress during the bombardment on July 12 when the ships passed upstream, and fearing the unnerving effect their conduct might have "on the ears and minds of our young and inexperienced soldiery," the Commander-in-Chief asked whether some measures could be taken to remove them from the city. Towards nightfall a proclamation issued by Washington announcing the dire threat of impending naval action was posted throughout the city, with a recommendation that people move out of New York for their own safety. When the news spread it "caused a new fright."

The bombardment which Washington anticipated was not, however, to be carried into execution by the British fleet in the harbor but by the squadron off Westchester County. At daylight on August 17, the day after the horrible fireship attack, Parker and Wallace discerned the *Shuldham* and four American galleys about two miles to leeward, but when the frigates weighed anchor and dropped down to protect their small craft the galleys withdrew to the protection of the Fort Washington guns.

However, despite the proximity of the squadron, Lieutenant Loudon of Colonel Isaac Nicoll's New York regiment went out on the river with two men to attempt to tow the charred wreck of the *Charlotta* ashore. The British opened fire with cannon and one of the round shot passed within a few inches of Loudon's head, but the Lieutenant and his assistants brought the wrecked tender into shoal water. Their comrades then boarded her and removed one 6-pounder, two 3-pounders, one 2-pounder, ten swivels, one caboose and apron, two cutlasses, two gun barrels, one crow bar, and four grappling irons and chains.

By this time Parker and Wallace must have been convinced that, aside from posing a diversionary threat to the American flank and rear—which, in itself, was thwarted by American galleys and fireships—their position was daily becoming less effective. The row galley attack and the nightmare of the fireships was sufficient to shake any complacency on their part that the squadron would continue secure against any further attempt which the audacious American marine force might make to destroy or capture the vessels. Besides the destruction of the *Charlotta* and the loss of their best bowers by both the *Phoenix* and *Rose*, the only British casualty resulting from the fireship action was a sailor on Parker's frigate who had his hand burned a little at the time of the fireship engagement.

There were hours of serious reflection. The powder and shot expended in the gun duel of July 12, in the desultory cannonades along the Hudson, and in the row galley attack all had contributed to the depletion of supplies. Added to this, and contrary to what they had expected when they forced their way up the Hudson, the British captains had found it practically impossible to obtain either water or provisions or to make contact with the loyalists. From the mastheads, too, the watches must have discerned with misgiving and puzzlement the busy activity on the river off Fort Washington as the hulks and *cheveaux-de-frize* frames were sunk to prevent the return of the squadron.

With this in mind, they realized little good could be accom-

plished by continuing on detached service. While the printer John Holt was setting his type for Washington's proclamation in New York, Parker and Wallace were making final preparations to abandon their position and attempt to run past the American river batteries a second time on August 18 to rejoin the British fleet.

August 18: Race for the Harbor

It rained heavily all night on August 17, and when the hazy morning hours of Sunday, the eighteenth, lengthened into a dreary and wet dawn the crews were roused from their slumbers and the gunners made ready their cannon. At 5:00 in the morning, favored with a northwest wind, Parker and Wallace stood on their wet quarterdecks and gave the order to weigh anchor. The heavy anchors emerged from the cold water, the sails were loosened, and the four vessels started south, keeping close to the east shore to avoid as much as possible the fire of the cannon at Fort Washington.

Extending across the broad estuary lay the obstruction which the Americans hoped would bottle up the squadron. The American officers on the rain-drenched high grounds watched the approach of the vessels with bated breath, hoping ere long to see them entangled in the sunken ships and crippled by the fire from the forts. Parker and Wallace, however, were probably aware of a gap near the east shore through which they could pass, for an American soldier—a New Yorker from one of the galleys—had deserted to the squadron and now was directing the course towards the submerged barrier.

Twenty minutes later the Americans opened fire as the ships came within range of their cannon, but they found it impossible to depress the guns sufficiently to concentrate an effective fire on the vessels. Keeping close together and with most of the crews below decks to avoid the American gunfire, the ships passed through the open passage in the obstruction about seven minutes later, within pistol shot of a new battery which had been erected

THE HUDSON RIVER OFF FORT WASHINGTON, 1934

Looking westward towards New Jersey. Scene of the marine engagements with the *Phoenix* and *Rose* on July 12 and August 18, 1776. The George Washington Bridge crosses along the line of the American *chevaux-de-frize* which was sunk in the river to prevent the passage of British ships. On the summit of the distant Palisades was situated the American defense post at Burdette's Ferry, later christened Fort Constitution and subsequently Fort Lee.

Courtesy of the Port of New York Authority

near the point of Jeffreys Hook. The American riflemen behind the parapet and among the rocks fired at the ships with their long rifles, to which the British returned rounds of grape, but they did no damage except to riddle a tent.

As soon as the squadron slipped through the obstructions, colors snapping in the gale, the battery on the Palisades opened fire. The *Phoenix*, according to an American general, was hulled three times from Fort Washington, the tenders once, and the

Rose once from the Jersey shore, but the American cannonade failed to hinder in the least the progress of the swiftly-moving vessels.

The heavy firing reverberated down the overcast river and when the ships approached Greenwich about 6:15 the American gunners in the batteries and on board the galleys stationed off the city were ready for action. In spite of wind and rain, the rooftops were crowded with spectators when the squadron came in view about 7:00, and the thunderous barrage which had greeted the Britons on July 12 was repeated from every battery which commanded the water. Parker and Wallace again opened with their broadsides. Many of the American shot fell short of their marks, but others struck with telling effect. Two went through the hull of the *Rose*—one, coming in between the two after ports, splintered the mizzenmast and smashed a cannon truck with such force that the splinters fractured a man's skull and wounded another slightly in the leg.

The British broadsides, too, struck the buildings with deadly accuracy. The Reverend Ewald Shewkirk of the Moravian Church reported that the townspeople did not seem as frightened as when the frigates passed up the river, but the enemy shot hit more houses and "some men were likewise hurt." One 32-pounder ball, believed to have been fired from Paulus Hook, fell into a garden. Another, a British 9-pounder, went through the Lutheran Church on Broadway, then across the street into a bedroom window. It smashed through a wall, crossed the staircase into another chamber, hit a beam and rebounded back, and then went partly through a side wall before the spent shot dropped heavily down the stairs.

In the midst of this tremendous exchange of cannonfire the awestruck spectators witnessed tragedy when two deserters from the American lines were observed frantically paddling from shore in a canoe in a desperate attempt to board one of the frigates. Soaked with rain and drenched with the sweat of their bodies, they managed to reach the *Rose* and one man clambered

up the side, but before the second could get on board the canoe struck the frigate and he was cast into the river. The crew tried to save him, but Wallace could not stop and the luckless deserter drowned. The four vessels raced rapidly across the rain-swept harbor, veering again towards Bedloe's Island, as they had done on July 12, when the batteries on Governors Island and Red Hook opened fire.

The American galleys followed them, but the squadron eluded its pursuers and about 7:30 in the morning, little more than two hours after they had left the anchorage off Westchester County, the vessels drew within the protecting ring of British men-of-war off Staten Island. Thirty-seven days after they had forced the Hudson River passage, Parker and Wallace were again riding at anchor with ships of the Royal Navy. The rigging and sails of the *Phoenix* were "much damaged" and her longboat which was towed astern, holding a stream cable and oars, had been sunk by a shot. The *Rose* had some of her rigging shot away and cannon balls were buried in her hull, but aside from this she suffered little damage other than the two casualties resulting from the splintered mizzenmast and truck.

Knighthood for Distinguished Service

The impunity with which the *Phoenix* and *Rose* passed up the Hudson demonstrated the inability of the American fortifications at New York to block the mouth of the river. It demonstrated to Washington and his generals the tremendous odds they faced in their attempt to combat British naval superiority, and it afforded them a realization of the gigantic measures they still had to undertake to defend New York. Though the squadron had cut the water communication between the city and the north, the supply of the Continental Army was little hampered by the hostile ships in the river. The most potent consequence was the constant threat the squadron poised against Washington's flank and rear, but in the absence of a coordinating offensive

by Howe's army and the King's fleet, the Americans were allowed sufficient time to counter the movements of Parker and Wallace by launching the row galley and fireship offensives.

The galley and fireship attacks were of great morale value, if nothing else, for it gave the Americans heart that, with time, equipment, and favorable conditions, they could thwart the Royal Navy to some degree and strike with effective force at the British ships. Even the King's naval officers, faced with the daring displayed by the American marine force, appreciated the resourcefulness of their ill-provided adversaries. The expedition gained the British little, but Sir William Howe never intended the movement to be of other than nuisance value to test the mettle of the American defenses and sound out American strength on the river above New York while he strengthened his own force on Staten Island for the main offensive against the city.

Aside from their landings on the unprotected Halstead and Bailey Farms and landings of a stealthy nature at night which accomplished little, Parker and Wallace had been continually confined on board their frigates. Despite the epithet of "pirates" which the Americans attached to the British invaders, the officers and crews of the squadron became the toast of Howe's fleet, and it was boasted that the "dangerous service" entrusted to them had been "most intrepidly performed." To Lord Richard Howe, the "abilities and distinguished resolution" of Captains Parker and Wallace made them eligible "for the most important services," and as a reward for their "gallant and judicious behaviour" both received the honor of knighthood from the King.

Only Vice-Admiral Shuldham, who had been dubious from the start, took occasion to grumble about the expedition. On September 24 he informed the Admiralty of the return of the "fruitless expedition" under Parker and Wallace, after remaining "useless for six weeks" up the Hudson under constant harassment and attack by rebel row galleys and fire ships. Shuldham reported that they "very luckily made their escape through the

same fire they went (through) in their passage up and joined the fleet on the 18th past."

But what had happened was over. The real British offensive was to be directed at the curving Long Island beachhead below the Narrows—an offensive which, ere another month had run its course, would sweep into New York and once again would see the British colors flying over the ramparts of Fort George.

SOURCES

PLAN FOR THE HUDSON RIVER EXPEDITION

G. R. Barnes and J. H. Owen, ed., "The Private Papers of John, Earl of Sandwich, First Lord of the Admiralty, 1771–1782," in *Publications*, Navy Records Society, 1932, pp. 143–46, 148. Hereafter: *Sandwich Papers*. Also: H. B. Dawson, *Westchester County, N. Y., during the American Revolution* (Morrisania, 1886), p. 211. Though the official exchange of correspondence between Howe and Shuldham began on July 7, Shuldham's reference in his letter of July 12 to the orders issued on "the 6th instant" would suggest that possibly some preliminary arrangements may have been made even prior to the seventh.

BREAKTHROUGH TO THE TAPPAN ZEE

BRITISH SOURCES: Of especial value is a journal kept by one of Wallace's officers, who is unidentified, bearing title: "Proceedings on board his Majesty's ship *Rose* in the North or Hudson River, North America, from the 12th of July to 18th August, 1776," published in *Sandwich Papers*, pp. 149–54. Hereafter: Proceedings on board H.M.S. *Rose*, *Sandwich Papers*. Also: Logbooks of H.M.S. *Phoenix* and H.M.S. *Rose*, July 12, 1776, in R. P. Bolton, *The Bombardment of New York* (New York, 1915), pp. 22, 23; "The Kemble Papers," in *Collections*, New-York Historical Society, 1883, p. 80; E. H. Tatum, Jr., ed., *The American Journal of Ambrose Serle, Secretary to Lord Howe, 1776–1778* (San Marino, 1940), pp. 28–29, 34; "Journals of Henry Duncan, Captain, Royal Navy, 1776–1782," in *Publications*, Navy Records Society, XX (1901), 117–18; H. M. Lydenberg, ed., *Archibald Robertson, Lieutenant-General of Royal Engineers: His Diaries and Sketches in America, 1762–1780* (New York, 1930), p. 89; *The Remembrancer, Part II for the Year 1776* (London, 1776), p. 287; and B. F. Stevens, *Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives Relating to America, 1776–1783*, XXIV (London, 1895), No. 2040.

AMERICAN SOURCES: J. C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of George Washington*, V (Washington, 1932), 264, 265–66, 268–69, 444; G. W. Greene, *Life of Nathaniel Greene*, I (Boston, 1890), 181; [W. Heath], *Memoirs of Major-General William Heath* (New York, 1901), pp. 41–42; F. S. Drake, *Life and Correspondence of Henry Knox* (Boston, 1873), pp. 28–29; W. C. Ford, ed., *Correspondence and Journals of Samuel B. Webb*, I (New York, 1893), 154; "Revolutionary War Letters of Colonel William Douglas," in *Quarterly Bulletin*, New-York Historical Society, April 1929, pp. 37–38; "Huntington Papers," in *Collections*, Connecticut Historical Society, XX (1923), 315; E. Bangs, ed., *Journal of Lieutenant Isaac Bangs, April 1 to July 29, 1776* (Cambridge, 1890), pp. 58, 59–60; "Diary of Ensign Caleb Clap of Colonel Baldwin's

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THE ROW GALLEY ATTACK

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PRELUDE FOR FIRESHIPS

Proceedings on board H.M.S. *Rose*, *Sandwich Papers*, p. 153; *Public Papers of George Clinton*, I, 283–84, 288–90, 301–07, 309; M. L. Davis, *Memoir of Aaron Burr*, I, 96; C. Clap, "Diary," in *Historical Magazine*, 3 series, III, 250; *Journals of the New York Provincial Congress*, I, 570; P. Force, comp., *American Archives*, 5 series, I, 752, 791.

THE FIRESHIPS STRIKE

The best accounts of the preparation of the firecraft and the attempt to destroy the squadron by means of the fireships were recorded in later years by Joseph Bass and Stephen Hempstead who served on board the *Polly*. Bass' account, entitled "A Narrative of the Attempt to Burn the British Frigates in North River, July 1776," appeared in *The Worcester Magazine and Historical Journal*, I (October 1825 to

April 1826) (Worcester, 1826), 353–56, and was published from a verbal account which Bass, then living in Leicester, Massachusetts, gave to the magazine. An abridged version appeared in E. M. Ruttenber, *Obstructions to the Navigation of Hudson's River*, pp. 27–30. The discrepancies recorded in a number of secondary sources pertaining to the fireship attack are based, to a considerable extent, on Bass' narrative. Bass' account contains some serious errors, but, if carefully examined and checked against other accounts, it is possible to recreate a true and detailed picture with considerable accuracy. Hempstead's narrative of the "Attempt to Burn the British Frigates in the North River, in July 1776, by one of the Party," was written subsequent to Bass' account, and was printed in the *St. Louis Times* to call attention to—and correct—some of the statements printed in the *Worcester Magazine*. Hempstead's narrative was republished in the supplement of the *Historical Magazine*, September 1866, pp. 84–86. The discrepancies in Bass' narrative are that Bass commanded the *Polly*, that the *Polly preceded* the schooner up the river, and grappled and burned the tender (bomb ketch) while Thomas grappled the *Phoenix*. This is contrary to fact, for Fosdick—not Bass—commanded the *Polly*; the *Polly followed*, not preceded, the schooner up the Hudson; the *Polly* grappled the *Phoenix*, not the tender; and Thomas grappled the tender, not the *Phoenix*. As one example of how erroneous many of the secondary sources are, mention may be made of the lengthy and interesting description of the fireship attack of August 16 which appears in Carl Carmer's *The Hudson* (New York and Toronto, 1939), pp. 108–111, but Carmer confuses this attack with the fireship attack made against the British shipping in the Hudson on the night of September 15–16, 1776, by Captain Silas Talbot.

Other sources, British and American, for the fireship attack are: Proceedings on board H.M.S. *Rose*, *Sandwich Papers*, pp. 153–54; logbook of H.M.S. *Phoenix*, August 14, 1776, cited in E. H. Hall, *Philipse Manor Hall, at Yonkers, N.Y.* (New York, 1912), pp. 161–62; logbook of H.M.S. *Phoenix*, August 16, 1776, cited in R. P. Bolton, *The Bombardment of New York*, p. 33; Henry Duncan, "Journals," 1776–82, in *Publications* Navy Records Society, XX (1901), 121, 128; A. Serle, *Journal*, pp. 67, 105; F. Mackenzie, *Diary*, I, 51; J. C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of George Washington*, V, 446, 452, 454, 457, 458–59; W. Heath, *Memoirs*, pp. 45–46; S. Nash, MS *Journal*, August 14, 1776, NYHS; C. Clap, "Diary," in *Historical Magazine*, 3 series, III, 250; B. Trumbull, "Journal," in *Collections*, Connecticut Historical Society, VII (1899), 182–83; J. Richardson to J. Crozier, August 25, 1776, in *Quarterly Bulletin*, NYHS, July 1933, p. 18; G. D. Seymour, *Documentary Life of Nathan Hale* (New Haven, 1941), pp. 84, 518ff.; W. B. Reed, *Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed*, I, 217; J. Sparks, ed., *Correspondence of the American Revolution*, I, 276; *New York Mercury*, August 19, 1776; P. Force, comp., *American Archives*, 5 series, I, 1064; W. Gordon, *History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America*, II (London, 1790), 305; S. Talbot, *The Life and Surprising Adventures of Captain Talbot* (London, 1803), p. 15; H. B. Dawson, *Westchester County, N. Y., during the American Revolution*, p. 215, citing Captain Hall, *History of the Civil War in America*.

MOUNTING TENSION

Proceedings on board H.M.S. *Rose*, *Sandwich Papers*, p. 154; M. W. Willard, ed., *Letters on the American Revolution, 1774–1776* (Boston and New York, 1925), p. 350; W. Heath, *Memoirs*, p. 46; E. G. Shewkirk, "Diary," in H. P. Johnston, *The Campaign of 1776 around New York and Brooklyn*, p. 112; J. Sparks, ed., *Correspondence of the American Revolution*, I, 277; *Journals of the New York Provincial Congress*, I, 578.

AUGUST 18: RACE FOR THE HARBOR

Proceedings on board H.M.S. *Rose*, *Sandwich Papers*, p. 154; logbooks of H.M.S. *Phoenix* and H.M.S. *Rose*, August 18, 1776, in R. P. Bolton, *The Bombardment of New York*, pp. 38–39; H. Duncan, "Journals," in *Publications*, Navy Records Society, XX (1901), 121–22; A. Serle, *Journal*, pp. 67–68; A. Robertson, *Diary*, p. 93; W. Bamford, "Diary," in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXVII (1932), 309; B. F. Stevens, *Facsimiles*, XXIV, No. 2042; W. Gordon, *The History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America*, II (London, 1790), 305; J. C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of George Washington*, V, 452, 454–55; W. Heath, *Memoirs*, pp. 46–47; J. Sparks, ed., *Correspondence of the American Revolution*, I, 277–78; C. Clap, "Diary," in *Historical Magazine*, 3 series, III, 250; P. Force, comp., *American Archives*, 5 series, I, 1066; E. G. Shewkirk, "Diary," in H. P. Johnston, *The Campaign of 1776 around New York and Brooklyn*, pp. 112–13; *New York Mercury*, August 19, 1776. Solomon Nash, a soldier at New York, wrote that the Americans split four 32-pounders while firing on the British vessels (MS *Journal*, NYHS). Some very interesting details concerning the man who drowned while attempting to board H.M.S. *Rose* are found in: A. Serle, *Journal*, p. 69; B. F. Stevens, *Facsimiles*, XXIV, No. 2042; "Heath Papers," in *Collections*, Massachusetts Historical Society, 7 series, IV, 19; J. C. Fitzpatrick ed., *Writings of George Washington*, V, 493.

JOHN ADAMS PARDONS WILLIAM DURRELL

A NOTE ON SEDITION PROCEEDINGS, 1798–1800

by James Morton Smith*

MOST OF THE victims of sedition prosecutions during the administration of President John Adams were Jeffersonian journalists who criticized the Federalist Administration.[1] William Durrell, publisher of an obscure upstate New York weekly, had the double distinction of being the first editor arrested after the enactment of the sedition statute and the only Republican pardoned for his offensive remarks. His case also is unique because it appears to be the only Federal case tried under the common law doctrine of seditious libels rather than the Sedition Act of 1798.[2]

As editor of the Mount Pleasant *Register*, Durrell reprinted from the New Windsor *Gazette* of June 5, 1798, a paragraph which was critical of the President. When a copy reached Timothy Pickering, the ever-vigilant Secretary of State who supervised the enforcement of the Sedition Law, he carefully marked the passage.[3] Enclosing it to Richard Harison, Federal district attorney for New York, he instructed the government

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[1] The Sedition Law provided penalties for any person who made any "false, scandalous and malicious" statements against the President, either house of Congress, or the government with intent to defame them, or to bring them into contempt or disrepute, or to excite against them the hatred of the good people of the United States. The maximum penalty under this section was two years imprisonment and a $2,000 fine.

[2] The editors of two prominent opposition newspapers were indicted at common law before the Sedition Law was passed by Congress, but neither was brought to trial. For discussions of these cases, see James Morton Smith, "The Philadelphia *Aurora* and the Alien and Sedition Laws. Part I: The Editorship of Benjamin Franklin Bache," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXVII, No. 1 (Jan. 1953), 3–23; and "John Daly Burk and his New York *Time Piece*," *Journalism Quarterly*, Vol. 30, No. 1 (Winter, 1953), 23–36.

[3] For a discussion of Pickering's activities, see John C. Miller, *Crisis in Freedom: The Alien and Sedition Acts* (Boston, 1951), 31, 88–90.

prosecutor, a loyal Federalist, to determine whether the obnoxious paragraph contained "libellous matter."[4] If he should decide that it did, he was to institute a prosecution against the editor of the New Windsor *Gazette*, and another against Durrell for his reprinting the article.[5]

Although these instructions were written more than two weeks before the Sedition Law went into effect, Durrell was not arrested until July 17, three days after President Adams had signed that measure. Taken into custody in the name of the President for a libel against the Chief Magistrate of the nation, the editor was released on $4,000 bail, a large sum for a country printer.[6] Endorsing this action as "VERY GOOD," the leading upstate Federalist organ added "*so they go*," recalling that both Benjamin Franklin Bache, editor of the Philadelphia *Aurora*, and John Daly Burk, director of the New York *Time Piece*, were already under common law indictments for seditious libels against President Adams.[7]

Although the trial dangled over the editor's head for nearly two years, the consequences of this legal threat were immediate. Fearful that his inability "to discriminate" might lead him inadvertently to publish another offensive article, Durrell immediately discontinued the publication of his country journal. Thus the pending prosecution reduced him to poverty even before his indictment.[8]

It was not until the autumn of 1799 that Durrell was formally

[4] The constancy of Harison's Federalism is discussed briefly in Dixon Ryan Fox, *The Decline of Aristocracy in New York Politics* (New York, 1918), 12–13. Also see Robert Troup to Rufus King, Albany, April 4, 1809, Charles R. King, ed., *Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*, (New York, 1894–1900), V, 148–9.

[5] Pickering to Harison, Department of State, June 28, 1798, Pickering Papers (Massachusetts Historical Society), VIII, 604.

[6] Mt. Pleasant *Register*, July 24, 1798, reprinted in the Albany *Gazette*, August 14, 1798; New York *Time Piece*, August 8, 1798. Durrell had to post $2,000 for his appearance and two sureties had to post $1,000 each. The editor of the New Windsor paper was not arrested.

[7] Albany *Centinel*, August 14, 1798; also see note 2 above.

[8] "Sworn Petition for Clemency," U. S. v. William Durrell, April 5, 1800, *Minute Book, 1790–1808, Eastern Circuit of the New York District*, 176 (Records Group 21, National Archives).

indicted for publishing the "false scandalous malicious and defamotry [*sic*] Libel of and concerning John Adams." Unfortunately, the historical investigator, like President Adams, cannot gratify his desire for "more Information of the Nature of the Libell [*sic*]"; both the indictment and the news item for which Durrell was arrested have been lost, leaving no record of the objectionable remarks. Nor do the minutes of the court proceedings specify whether the editor was indicted at common law or under the Sedition Act of 1798. It is more than probable, however, that he was not charged under the sedition statute, because his offense occurred nearly a month before the passage of that law. To have indicted him under this measure, therefore, would have constituted a clear violation of the *ex post facto* provision of the Constitution. In short, Durrell must have been charged under the common law of seditious libel.[9] In such cases, unlike those tried under the Sedition Law, the truth of the critical remarks could not be offered as a defense, and the province of the jury was narrowed to deciding, not whether the words were false, scandalous, and malicious, but simply whether the accused had published the critical opinions.[9a]

On September 5, 1799, Durrell pleaded not guilty before the United States Circuit Court. After District Attorney Harison requested the postponement of the trial, the editor's bail was reduced to $3,000, and he was released until the next circuit held in New York City.[10] This delay in the trial, Durrell later com-

[9] Durrell was indicted on September 4, 1799; see *Minute Book, 1790–1808*, 146. These proceedings, however, do not specify the libellous matter. The other records of the Federal courts for the Southern District of New York in the National Archives do not contain Durrell's indictment or case papers, nor are these to be found in the records remaining in the office of the Clerk of the Court for the Southern District. Pertinent copies of the Mt. Pleasant *Register* and the New Windsor *Gazette* do not exist; see Charles Evans, *American Bibliography* (Chicago, 1903–34), XII, 1798–00, item 32156, 129; and Clarence Brigham, *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690–1820* (Worcester, Mass., 1947), I, 605, 606.

[9a] It should be remembered, however, that, despite the vigorous assertion of precisely this construction of common law libel in the charge given to the New York jury which tried Peter Zenger in 1735, that jury nevertheless successfully assumed a right to judge of law as well as fact and brought in a verdict of acquittal on the ground that an alleged libel is justified by its truth. That verdict remains the historic foundation of Freedom of the Press in America.

[10] U. S. *v.* Durrell, Sept. 5, 1799, *Minute Book, 1790–1808*, 146–7.

plained, reduced his hard-hit printing business still further, thus operating as a "severe punishment independent of the inconvenience and expence of attending the several Courts." Indeed, the unemployed printer's precipitous progress to poverty was climaxed in the autumn of 1799 when the sheriff of Westchester County foreclosed on Durrell's real and personal property, forcing him to borrow the furniture with which he, his wife, and five children kept house.[11]

During the election year of 1800, the Federalists increasingly resorted to sedition prosecutions as a political weapon against Republican writers. When the case of the inconspicuous upstate printer came up in the spring of 1800, therefore, it attracted little attention compared with the coverage given the proceedings against such prominent Jeffersonian publicists as William Duane, editor of the Philadelphia *Aurora;* Thomas Cooper, editor and pamphleteer; and James T. Callender, author of the notorious *Prospect Before Us.* Moreover, the trial was a routine affair, lacking the dramatic qualities which highlighted these widely publicized prosecutions. The only evidence introduced by the government, for instance, was the issue of the Mt. Pleasant *Register* containing the offensive criticism. Without hearing any defense testimony, the presiding judge, Associate Justice Bushrod Washington of the United States Supreme Court, read his charge to the jury, which shortly returned a verdict of guilty.[12]

On April 5 the convicted editor presented a pitiable plea for clemency, setting forth his ignorance of the fact that republication of objectionable criticism was, like original publication, a criminal offense. Although he did not admit the illegality of the article which he had published, he agreed that it was an improper item which he would have rejected had he read it "with but common attention." He ascribed his difficulty to a personal grudge held by the informer whose affidavit provided the basis for the charge against him. The issue of the New Windsor *Gazette*

[11] "Sworn Petition for Clemency," April 5, 1800, *ibid.*, 176–7.

[12] Only two witnesses were sworn. John T. Bainbridge identified the *Register* in which the libel appeared. Mordeca Hale is also listed as a prosecution witness, but the nature of his testimony is not given. U. S. *v.* Durrell, April 4, 1800, *ibid.*, 172–3.

from which he had copied the fateful words, Durrell swore, had been presented to his office by this unidentified person with the premeditated intent of bringing him into difficulty with the law. His enemy, moreover, had since boasted that "he was the sole cause of that publication."[23]

Turning from this rather disingenuous argument, the editor attempted to buttress his request for clemency with a plea of poverty. Pointing to the discontinuance of his newspaper, he observed that he had been out of business for nearly two years; a jail sentence, therefore, would deprive his family of their sole source of support—the labor of his hands, thus compounding "the distresses of the innocent and helpless." After this impassioned plea, Judge Washington and District Judge John Sloss Hobart postponed a decision on punishment, but four days later sentenced Durrell to four months in jail and a $50 fine. He was to remain in prison until the fine was paid; upon his release he was to post a $2,000 security for his good behavior for two years.[24]

"It is remarkable," the Republican press observed, "that the original publisher of the *Libel* has not been taken notice of, while the person who only republished it, is shut up in prison, and deprived of the means of supporting his family, who are incapable of helping themselves."[25] This was no exaggeration and the prosecutor and the Federal judges prevailed upon Pickering and the President to pardon Durrell.

The day after the editor began his sentence Harison wrote the Secretary of State that Durrell "appears to be very poor at present, has a large family to maintain, and has a considerable Time since discontinued his news paper." Moreover, the editor met the conditions laid down by the President in Congressman Matthew Lyon's case that "pentinence precede pardon." "He

[23] "Sworn Petition for Clemency," April 5, 1800, *ibid.*, 176–7.

[24] Durrell was sentenced on April 9, 1800; *ibid.*, 186–7. For brief accounts of the trial, see the New York *Commercial Advertiser*, April 17, 1800; New York *Spectator*, April 19, 1800; and the New York *American Citizen*, April 18 and 21, 1800; the *Virginia Argus* (Richmond), May 2, 1800; and Milton Wheaton Hamilton, *The Country Printer, New York State, 1785–1850* (New York, 1936), 175.

[25] New York *American Citizen*, April 21, 1800. Also see the *Virginia Argus*, May 2, 1800.

pretends also that the Libell was inadvertently copied from another Paper," Harison pointed out, "and that it would not have been published in his, if he had been fully apprised of it's Nature." As Durrell's offense related only to the President personally and not to his administration or to the government, the Federal judges who sentenced him had hinted to the prosecutor that "it might be worthy of Consideration whether a Remission of all the Sentence except what relates to the Security for future conduct, might not operate beneficially." The unemployed editor scarcely seemed an object for example to other editors, and the prosecutor obviously thought that leniency would be more expedient politically than punishment.[16]

Impressed by the prosecutor's opinion and "the Intimations of the Judges," President Adams decided on magnanimity, but not without some reluctance. "I wish," he wrote Pickering, ". . . that I had more Information of the Nature of the Libell [*sic*]." Although he refused to grant a full pardon, he directed the Secretary of State to release Durrell from "all the Sentence, except what relates to the Security for future good Behaviour."[17] In accordance with this authorization, Pickering forwarded Durrell's partial pardon to Harison on April 22, 1800.[18]

After serving less than two weeks of his four-month sentence, Durrell became the only seditious culprit to be released from fine and imprisonment by a Presidential pardon.[19] His security for future good conduct, however, remained in force as a reminder that he was bound not to repeat his criticisms of President Adams without risking the loss of his $2,000 security. This seems to have been enough to insure the continued silence of the impoverished printer.

[16] Harison to Pickering, New York, April 10, 1800, Pickering Papers, XXVI, 77.

[17] Adams to Pickering, Philadelphia, April 21, 1800, General Records of the Department of State, *Miscellaneous Letters, January–December, 1800*, Record Group 59, National Archives.

[18] Pickering to Harison, Philadelphia, April 22, 1800, Pickering Papers, XIII, 406.

[19] *Book of Pardons and Remissions, No. 1, April 15, 1794–November 19, 1812*, 31–2, Records Group 59, National Archives. Also see the *American Citizen*, May 5, 1800, which announced that "The President of the United States has been pleased to remit the fine and imprisonment of William Durrell, late printer of the '*Mount-Pleasant Register*.'"

ANN (RUDOLPH) SMITH (1767–1846)

Portrait by Isaac Williams

Owner unknown; photo, courtesy Miss Helen Burr Smith

THE STORY OF CORNWALLIS'S BUCKLES

by HELEN BURR SMITH

A few months ago the Society received as a gift from Miss Helen Burr Smith and the late Miss Henrietta Royer Smith a valuable pair of eighteenth-century silver knee buckles set with brilliants. The romantic story of how these buckles came into her family and how this story became a part of our Revolutionary tradition is told for us by one of the donors.

ONE OF MY HAPPIEST and most vivid childhood recollections is of gathering with my brothers and sisters in a circle on the floor at our mother's feet on a rainy day to see the treasures she took one by one from a strongbox on these rare occasions. As she handed me one of a pair of brilliant buckles, I remember her saying "This is one of Cornwallis's knee buckles." Those words have lingered long in my memory but the full story of how Cornwallis's buckles came into our family's possession I learned only a comparatively few years ago, after the strongbox with its contents became the joint property of my sister and myself upon our mother's decease.

The story was told us by a cousin of our mother's, the late William Ives Rutter, Jr., who had heard the story many times in childhood from his mother, Sarah May (Hobart) Rutter,[1] who early in life had heard it from the lips of her great-grandmother, Ann Rudolph,[2] to whom General Cornwallis had given the buckles when she was a little girl of between ten and twelve

[1] Daughter of Henrietta Williamina (Smith) Hobart and Robert Enoch Hobart, Jr., and wife of William Ives Rutter.

[2] Daughter of Jacob and Judith (Yocum) Rudolph, and wife of William Moore Smith, son of the Reverend William Smith, D. D., first Provost of the University of Pennsylvania.

years of age. This is the story as it came to me and as I wrote it for *The New York Sun* of October 8, 1938:

ANN GOT HER COW; BUCKLES, TOO

Cornwallis Friendly to Persistent 'Little Rebel' in Revolution

By Helen Burr Smith

During the revolutionary war, when the British Army was camped near Philadelphia, a party of soldiers invaded the farm of Major Rudolph at Darby, a little south of the city.

Upon discovery of their seizure of the prize cow of the farm, claimed as the property of Major Rudolph's little daughter, Ann, the child implored the soldiers to give back her favorite cow. Her plea unheeded, little Ann jumped upon her pony and rode swiftly to the camp to see, personally, the Commander-in-chief of the British Army. She was held at the first outpost for questioning by the guard. Her insistence that she must see the general at once, together with her state of extreme excitement and determination, influenced the officer to let her pass, fearful lest she might have a message from some one of the Loyalists, knowing Gen. Washington with his regiments was in the neighborhood.

Cornwallis was dining with several British officers when the announcement "A little girl with a message for the general" was made. "Let her come in at once," said the general and Miss Ann Rudolph entered.

"Well my little girl, I am Gen. Cornwallis," said the gentleman kindly. "What have you to say to me?"

"I want my cow," answered little Ann. This brought forth an uproar of laughter, but the child remained unperturbed. The general asked questions as to how she happened to come alone to a British camp; had she no father or brothers for such an errand? The child told Cornwallis frankly that her father was in Gen. Washington's army, but now a prisoner; her two brothers were Capt. Michael Rudolph, with Light-horse Harry Lee, and Capt. John Rudolph, with Gen. Gates.

"Father and brothers all in the Continental army, then you must be a little rebel?" said Cornwallis. "Yes sir, if you please, I am a little rebel but I want my cow," said little Ann. "You shall have your cow and a souvenir of this interview," replied Cornwallis. Thereupon removing his brilliant knee buckles, he put them in the child's hand with the statement, "Cornwallis can appreciate courage and truth even in a little rebel." He then instructed an orderly to go with the child to find her cow and to detail a man to drive her home.

The following spring, little Miss Ann Rudolph witnessed the celebrated "Meschianza," a farewell entertainment of the British officers to Philadelphia.

Ann Rudolph married William Moore Smith, the son of the Rev. William Smith, the first provost of the University of Pennsylvania.

Her son, William Rudolph Smith, married Eliza Anthony, the daughter of Joseph Anthony Jr., the silversmith.

These greatly cherished buckles are still in the possession of the descendants, the great-great-great-grandaughters of Ann (Rudolph) Smith and William Moore Smith.

Ann Rudolph lived to be nearly eighty years old and told the story of Cornwallis's buckles with others of the Revolution to four generations "who loved to gather 'round her chair and listen to her stories."

During the preparation of this article I learned of an earlier one on "Cornwallis's Buckles" in the February 1882 issue of *St. Nicholas* and after a good deal of searching managed to obtain a copy. Since the buckles had never been exhibited[3] and had never been out of the family and the story had circulated only among family and friends, I set out to learn how the story had gotten into print and by whom it was written. The author, however, had signed by only three initials, "A. J. C." Investigation revealed that the early records of the magazine had been destroyed; thereupon my hope of determining the name of the author vanished.

Seven years after the story appeared in *The New York Sun* a request came from the late Major Edgar S. Gardner, then a member of the advisory committee on publications of the Valley Forge Historical Society,[4] to the late William Ives Rutter, Jr.,[5] a great-great-grandson of Ann Rudolph, for his version of the story which had come to him direct from Ann Rudolph through his mother. This was for publication in *The Picket Post*, the official organ of the Valley Forge Historical Society. Mr. Rutter

[3] Since the publication of the story in *The New York Sun*, October 8, 1938, the buckles have been exhibited twice: at the Fair of Old Philadelphia at Christ Church, Philadelphia, in 1939, and at the Ridgeway Library, Philadelphia, in 1940.

[4] Also Vice-president and Director of the Valley Forge Historical Society and a member of the Executive Committee of *The Picket Post*.

[5] Doctor of Canon Law, Founder and Secretary of The Church Historical Society, Historian of the St. Andrews Society of Philadelphia and of the Pennsylvania Society of the War of 1812.

complied with the request and the article appeared in the July 1945 issue.[6]

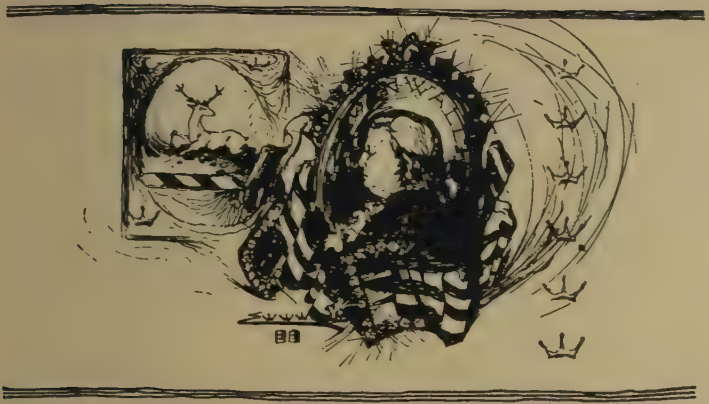
During a conference between Major Gardner and Mr. Rutter concerning the story of the buckles, at which I happened to be present, the question arose as to the authorship of the *St. Nicholas* account. Mr. Rutter stated that at the time the story appeared he was a boy of about ten years of age. Lying on the floor before the fireplace reading the February 1882 copy of *St. Nicholas*, just out, to his amazement he saw an article entitled "Cornwallis's Buckles." Upon reading it, he found it to be the same story he had so often been told by his mother. His parents were as surprised as he but were never able to learn who wrote the article.

At this point a thought came to me which had not occurred at the time of my search for the name hidden behind the initials "A. J. C." If living, which dates allowed to be possible, the artist, I believed, would undoubtedly remember who "A. J. C." was. The illustrations were signed "Edwards '81"; the Table of Contents listed the illustrator as "G. W. Edwards." Upon inquiry at the art department of the New York Public Library, I found that "G. W. Edwards" was the internationally famous artist George Wharton Edwards[7] and that he was then living (1945) in Greenwich, Connecticut, at the age of eighty-eight.

I lost no time in writing Mr. Edwards to tell him of my quest

[6] In the account of Cornwallis's buckles written by William Ives Rutter, Jr., for *The Picket Post*, there is a printer's error to which attention should be called. Page 37, last paragraph, reads: "Ann Rudolph (1767–1846) has had many connections with The St. Andrews' Society of Philadelphia. *She was the wife of William Smith, D. D.* . . . ." The sentence here italicized should read: "She was the wife of William Moore Smith and the daughter-in-law of the Rev. William Smith, D. D. . . . ."

[7] Mr. Edwards was born March 14, 1858, at Fair Haven, Connecticut, a son of William and Margaret (Malcolmson) Edwards. He studied art in Antwerp and Paris and was a pupil of Eugene Feyen, Paris. In March 1886 he married Anne Johns Cox, daughter of General John C. and Anne Rowland Cox of Quincy, Illinois. He was director of the art department of Colliers, 1898–1903, and manager of the art department of the American Bank Note Company, 1904–12. Among his early writings were *Thumbnail Sketches*, 1886; *The Rivalries of Long and Short Codiac*, 1888; *Break O' Day and Other Stories*, 1889; *Spenser's Epithalamium*, 1895; *Old English Love Songs*, 1896; *P'tit Matinic*, 1897. He was also the author of volumes on fifteen foreign countries for which he was awarded a number of honor medals: The Order of King Albert of Belgium Reconnaissance Belge, conferred by King Albert in 1920; Gold Palm of l'Academie Francaise for art, and post of officer of Public Instruction, 1921; Chevalier, Legion of Honor (France), 1925; Chevalier, Order Crown (Belgium), 1927; Chevalier, Order of Isabella the Catholic (Spain),



CORNWALLIS AND HIS KNEE BUCKLES

Vignette by George Wharton Edwards (1858–1950), illustrating Anne Johns Cox's story, "Cornwallis's Buckles"

From St. Nicholas, *February 1822*

for the name of the author of the story he had illustrated for *St. Nicholas*. Two weeks elapsed with no reply. I then telephoned his home and, to my surprise, he himself answered the telephone with an apology on his tongue's end for his failure to answer my letter, which he told me was "due to being occupied with numerous other matters," thus revealing his active, keen, and alert mind at nearly ninety years of age. He invited me out to see him, "but," he added, "I can tell you now who A. J. C. was. She was my mother-in-law. Her name was Anne Johns Cox." Again, I lost no time. I accepted his invitation and went to Greenwich the following Sunday afternoon, June 24, 1945, taking along my copy of the February 1882 *St. Nicholas*, the buckles, and a photograph of a water color of Ann (Rudolph) Smith with her two older sons, William Rudolph Smith (1787–1868) and Samuel Wemyss Smith (1796–1819).

Before showing them to Mr. Edwards, I asked if he would like to see again the buckles he had illustrated in his mother-in-

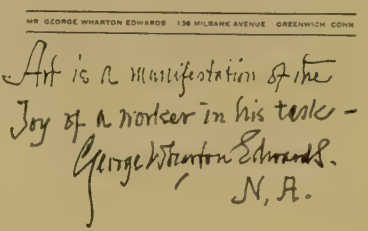
1927; Chevalier, Royal Order of the Crown of Italy, 1929; Belgian League of Honor, 1936. Member: Inst. of Arts and Letters. Clubs: National Arts (life), Salmagundi, Authors. He was made a National Academician in 1945. He died January 18, 1950, at Greenwich, Connecticut, where his home had been for the past thirty-eight years.

law's story over sixty-three years before. He replied that he would be very greatly interested in seeing them for he had never seen them, that he had drawn them from description only. He told me he was a boy at the time, just beginning, and that this was one of his first jobs.

I asked Mr. Edwards if he knew how the story came to the attention of his mother-in-law. He told me that she was the daughter of Judge Charles Rowland of Wilmington, Delaware, and the wife of the Civil War General John C. Cox, and that she knew all of the old Philadelphia families and wrote many stories of the Revolution. It was clear then that Anne Johns Cox had got the story and permission to publish it from an early member of the family. Now, after seventy-four years, the name of the author of the first published story on Cornwallis's buckles[8] is for the first time published here for a permanent record.

Needless to say I spent a very interesting afternoon with this eminent artist. At the conclusion of the discussion of our mutual interest in the subject of Cornwallis's buckles, Mr. Edwards told me a great deal about his early life and showed me copies of his books and the honor decorations bestowed upon him, one of the most beautiful of which was the decoration of Belgium "set with forty-two diamonds, made by the King's jeweller." He also showed me many of his paintings, including his first portrait, that of his mother in her widow's weeds.

Before leaving Mr. Edwards that Sunday afternoon, I asked him if he would write for me his definition of art which he had spoken earlier in conversation. He picked up a card from a table near by, borrowed my pencil, and wrote:


MR GEORGE WHARTON EDWARDS 130 MILBANK AVENUE GREENWICH CONN

Art is a Manifestation of the
Joy of a Worker in his task -
George Wharton Edwards.
N. A.

[8] *St. Nicholas*, February 1882, 296.

On my homeward bound trip, I made a written account for my personal records of all I had seen and heard on that visit with this celebrated artist who, at the beginning of his long career, had illustrated for the first and only time Cornwallis's knee buckles and who, not long before the end of his life, made known to the owners of the buckles the long-sought name of the author of the first published story on the buckles. The author had died in the year 1895;[9] the illustrator died January 18, 1950, two months before his ninety-second birthday.[10]

Anne Johns Cox's story of the buckles in *St. Nicholas* errs in claiming Captains Michael and John Rudolph as brothers of Ann Rudolph. They were related to her but the exact relationship has not been determined. Ann did have brothers, but they were too young to have been officers in the Revolutionary War. Also in error is the army rank of Ann's father, who was a captain, not a major, in the Continental Army. It is true, however, that her father was a prisoner in 1777, as Ann told General Cornwallis when she went to get her cow. It is also true that her relatives, Captain Michael Rudolph and Captain Rudolph (probably John), were with "Light Horse Harry" Lee and General Gates, respectively.

Ann's father, Captain Jacob Rudolph (1744–1795), was a son of John Rudolph (1719–1768) and Mary Bonsall (1719–1795), daughter of Jacob and Martha (Hood) Bonsall. An officer in the American Army during the Revolution (Captain of the 2nd Company of Colonel Caleb Davis's Battalion of Chester County Associates), Jacob Rudolph was captured at the Battle of Brandywine, September 11/12, 1777, and exchanged June 1778 on the British evacuation of Philadelphia. He was a brother of Lieutenant John Rudolph of the 5th Pennsylvania Battalion and afterwards of the 6th Pennsylvania Regiment, Continental Establishment, who was captured at Fort Washington, N. Y., November 16, 1776; and he was also related in some way to Captain John Rudolph and Lieutenant (later Captain) Michael Rudolph (or

[9] Information courtesy the late George Wharton Edwards, her son-in-law.

[10] Obituaries in *New York Times* and *New York Herald Tribune*, January 19, 1950.

Rudulph) of Major Henry Lee's Partisan Legion of the Continental Establishment."

Ann Rudolph, the courageous "little rebel" to whom General

ANN (RUDOLPH) SMITH WITH TWO OF HER THREE SONS

Pastel by an unknown artist, *c.* 1800

Owner unknown; photo, courtesy Miss Helen Burr Smith

Cornwallis gave his buckles, was a daughter of Jacob Rudolph (1744–1795) and Judith Yocum of Chester County, Pennsylvania, who were married October 28, 1765. Ann was born in 1767. She was married on June 3, 1786, to William Moore Smith (1759–1821), son of the Reverend William Smith, D.D., first Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, and his wife Rebecca Moore, daughter of the Honorable William Moore and his wife Williamina Wemyss, daughter of the Fourth Earl of Wemyss.

[11] "Family Portraits," with histories, compiled by Captain Henry Hobart Bellas; George Johnston, *Cecil County, Md.*, 513.

Three sons were born to Ann (Rudolph) Smith and William Moore Smith:[12]

William Rudolph Smith; b. August 31, 1787; d. August 22, 1868.
Samuel Wemyss Smith; b. September 1, 1796; d. January 6, 1819.
Richard Penn Smith; b. March 13, 1799; d. August 12, 1854.

During the final illness of the Reverend William Smith, while his son, William Moore Smith, was in England, his daughter-in-law visited him daily at the Falls of Schuylkill near Philadelphia and finally, when he needed constant care, she, with Bishop White and Benjamin R. Morgan, Esq., attorney at law, had him brought to her home at 5th and Chestnut Streets where she cared for him until he died. It was in the room in which Ann (Ru-

[12] *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd Ser., VIII, 767; D. A. R. Lineages, III, 326 (Miss Dillie Smith Lewis Fleming); Horace Wemyss Smith, *The Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith, D. D.*, II, 543.

William Rudolph Smith, eldest son of Ann Rudolph and William Moore Smith, was born August 31, 1787. After some early instruction at the best preparatory school in Philadelphia his whole education was assumed by his grandfather, the Rev. William Smith, D. D., at the Falls of the Schuylkill. In 1803, at the age of sixteen, he was taken to England as private secretary to his father, who was one of the commissioners to adjust British claims under the 6th Article of the Jay Treaty. He studied law in England and was admitted to the Philadelphia bar in 1808. On March 16, 1809, he was married to Eliza Anthony, daughter of Joseph Anthony, Jr., Philadelphia silversmith (first cousin to Gilbert Stuart), and his wife, Henrietta Hillegas, daughter of Michael Hillegas, first Treasurer of the United States. Six children were born to them. The first daughter and third child inherited Cornwallis's knee buckles from her father who had inherited them from his mother, Ann Rudolph. William Rudolph Smith was known as one of the most profound lawyers of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. He became Attorney-General. His military career was as outstanding as his professional career. His wife died in 1821. Three years later he married Mary Hamilton Van Dyck and removed to Wisconsin where he died in 1868 leaving descendants. H. W. Smith, *Life and Correspondence of Rev. William Smith, D. D.*, II, 581–586.

Samuel Wemyss Smith, second son of Ann Rudolph and William Moore Smith, was born September 1, 1796, and died January 6, 1819, at the age of twenty-three, unmarried. H. W. Smith, *op. cit.*, II, 543.

Richard Penn Smith, third son of Ann Rudolph and William Moore Smith, was born March 13, 1799, and died August 12, 1854. He studied law in Philadelphia in the office of William Rawle, Esq., and was admitted to the bar in 1820. He became an author, dramatist, and poet. Many of his literary works still exist. He married Mrs. Eleanor Matilda Lincoln on May 5, 1823. Five children were born to them, all of whom died in infancy except Horace Wemyss Smith, biographer of his great-grandfather, the Rev. William Smith, D. D. In 1836, his first wife having died, Richard Penn Smith was married for the second time, to Isabella Stratton Knisell. There were five children of this union. In 1836 he retired from active life and went to the family seat at the Falls of the Schuylkill where he died in 1854. H. W. Smith, *op. cit.*, II, 525–534.

dolph) Smith's youngest son, Richard Penn Smith, the poet, was born and in which, it is said, Washington had sat to Gilbert Stuart for his portrait, that Dr. Smith died on May 14, 1803.[13]

After the death of Dr. Smith, his son, William Moore Smith, removed with his family to the estate at the Falls of the Schuylkill which he inherited from his father. There he died in 1821 and there his widow, Ann (Rudolph) Smith, lived until her death on October 8, 1846, in her eightieth year. It was in this house that Sarah May (Hobart) Rutter as a child visited "Ann Rudolph," her great-grandmother, and heard, among other stories of the Revolution, her favorite, that of Cornwallis's buckles.

One day late in the life of Mrs. Rutter (1838–1924), she asked her son to take her to the Falls of Schuylkill to see once more the old home where she had so often visited her great-grandmother. The house at that time, about 1920, was occupied by strangers who received the descendants of the original owners hospitably and took them through the house. Mrs. Rutter went straight to the room in which she had heard the story she so loved to hear as a child, walked over to a window, and said to her son: "Here is where my great-grandmother used to sit in her chair by *this window* and tell me the story of Cornwallis's buckles."[14]

It was soon after this visit to the old home that Mrs. Rutter, at her son's request, wrote the story from her memory of it as told to her by Ann Rudolph approximately seventy-five years

[13] The family tradition that Washington sat for his portrait to Stuart in the home of William Moore Smith was set forth by Horace Wemyss Smith in his *Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith, D. D.*, II, 447, and again by William Ives Rutter, Jr., in his "Washington in Philadelphia," in *The 3C Book*, The Federal Reserve Club, VI, No. 8, Feb. 1925, 147. Horace Wemyss Smith, in writing of the death of the Rev. William Smith, D. D., states that it took place "in the second story front room [of the William Moore Smith house at the southeast corner of Fifth and Chestnut Streets, Philadelphia], the same in which my father (Richard Penn Smith) was born, and in which Washington had sat to Gilbert Stuart for the portrait now in the Boston Athenaeum. . . ." Horace Wemyss Smith was in error, however, in claiming the Athenaeum portrait as the one painted in the Smith residence. It was the Lansdowne portrait. None of the numerous published works on Stuart's portraits of Washington record this circumstance.

[14] Information courtesy the late William Ives Rutter, Jr.

earlier. Her memory was mingled with repeated versions by other descendants during the intervening years and with the reading nearly forty years previously of the *St. Nicholas* account by "A. J. C." The late William Ives Rutter, Jr., had in his possession at the time of his death his mother's hand-written account of the story, which I have seen.

Horace Wemyss Smith (1825–1891), a grandson of Ann Rudolph and author of *The Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith, D. D.*, may well have been the member of the family who gave the story to Anne Johns Cox, as the following incident related by Sarah May (Hobart) Rutter intimates:

> One day, Horace Wemyss Smith was visiting my mother (his cousin) when she was in her last illness. He opened a bureau drawer and took out Cornwallis's buckles telling my mother that he wanted to borrow them. My mother protested telling him that they did not belong to him and to put them back but Horace did take them. I was in the room and heard it all.[15]

Horace Smith evidently convinced his cousin that he would return the buckles and he did so, for they were inherited by my grandmother, Eliza Anthony (Hobart) Royer, wife of John Whittier Royer of Philadelphia and sister of Sarah May (Hobart) Rutter. Undoubtedly Horace Wemyss Smith borrowed the buckles to show to Anne Johns Cox when he told her the story she published a few years later.

One day during the preparation of the buckle story for *The Sun*, a friend was visiting at the home of the author. She was told the story and shown the buckles. Upon her return home, she told her little daughter, Virginia, that she had seen Cornwallis's knee buckles. "Not the ones he gave to little Ann Rudolph when she went to get her cow?" asked Virginia. Her mother, greatly surprised, replied "Yes, but how did you know?" "*Why, Mother, that's history*," said little Virginia. Humiliated at her mother's ignorance, she promptly got out her Elson Reader #4 and read her the story.

[15] Told to the author by the late William Ives Rutter, Jr.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Bibliography of Texas, 1795–1845. By Thomas W. Streeter. *Part I. Texas Imprints, 1817–1845.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955. 2 volumes, lxxi, 616 pages, 8 facsimile titles. 600 copies printed. $20.00).

Reviewed by R. W. G. Vail.

Great book collectors are seldom great scholars or great bibliographers but in Mr. Thomas W. Streeter we have the rare combination of all three. He has not only assembled one of the nation's outstanding collections of Americana but has spent delightful years of study among his treasures and has not been satisfied until he knew everything possible about them and their authors. Not content to be a mere hoarder of rarities, he has made them readily accessible to students and has spent years in making his accumulated knowledge available in printed form for the use of the scholarly world.

We had more than a hint of Mr. Streeter's ability as a bibliographer when, in 1952, he published his: *Americana–Beginnings*, a complete and scholarly description of 79 of the chief treasures in his great library of American history. Now, after more than a quarter of a century of careful, detailed study, he has published the first two volumes of his great *Bibliography of Texas, 1795–1845*. This monumental work is based not only on his own outstanding collection of material on the history of Texas through the period of the Republic but includes all other titles which he could find in public and private libraries. This work will eventually fill five volumes, including the two describing early Texas imprints which have recently appeared, a second part listing books on Texas printed in Mexico and part three including similar works printed in the United States and Europe. Texans like to brag about anything having to do with the Lone Star State and here is a legitimate opportunity for them to wax enthusiastic for Mr. Streeter has written the greatest regional bibliography in the country, the most important work ever compiled on the history and bibliography of the Southwest and the last word on the early literature of Texas history. C. W. Raines' *Bibliography of Texas*, 1896, has about 200 entries for this period, Mr. Streeter's over 1900 titles, an amazing showing when one considers the excessive rarity of most of these items. Of them, 1588 are located in public and private libraries, the three largest collections being 361 in the Texas State Library, 692 in the University of Texas and 800 in Mr. Streeter's superb collection.

Students have been impatiently waiting for this great work but it was well worth waiting for. The first two volumes, which we now have be-

fore us, record all known books, pamphlets, folders, broadsides and maps printed in Texas from 1817 through 1845, a total of 694 titles of which 560 can be located. This listing does not include legal forms, writs, drafts of proposed bills, issues of paper money and printed blanks of no historical significance.

After an interesting introduction and a fine map of Texas printing towns, Mr. Streeter gives us what he modestly calls: "A Brief Sketch of Printing in Texas Through the Year 1845" which, however, includes in thirty pages the most complete history of the subject to have been published to date. This history of the bewildering number of short-lived presses in the early days must have been extremely difficult to assemble and all students of Southwestern printing history must be forever grateful for the author's painstaking care to make it complete. Following a six page bibliography is a key to location symbols of the 79 public and three private collections owning the titles listed. From this list we are interested to learn that our own library has 18 of these rarities, that of the 150 Texas State Library holdings 49 are unique, of the 242 titles in the University of Texas 60 are unique and of the 232 in Mr. Streeter's collection he has the only known copies of 38 items.

Only a specialist in Texas history and bibliography could hope to comment on the bibliography itself but anyone familiar with bibliographical problems and methods can see at a glance that this is one of the most complete and scholarly bibliographies ever attempted in this country. Descriptions are detailed, including collation, size and binding, with descriptions of variants and the location, with the exception of various editions of Session laws, of all known copies of each title. But the notes, frequently filling several pages, are the chief reason for our admiration, for they give the historical setting for each item and frequently include a wealth of information to be found nowhere else. From them the scholar can glean the raw materials for a detailed picture of the early days of Texas during the period of pioneer settlement and separation from Mexico which he can find nowhere else in such profusion.

Not the least important feature of this amazing work is the material in its appendices. The first of these is a record of the 101 Texas newspapers from 1813 through 1845, of which specimens of 57 have survived the vicissitudes of frontier life. All possible information is recorded in each case and all known copies are located. The second appendix "lists, in chronological order, [35] imprints known through printers' bills against the government of Texas for the years from 1835 through 1845, but not there described sufficiently to permit their entry in the main list." The third appendix contains additional "Data on the Journals of the Convention of March, 1836, entered as No. 162 in this Bibliography." The volume ends with two complete and most useful indexes filling 53 pages. The first is an: "Index of Printers, Presses and Their Imprints, and of

Newspapers, Editors, and Publishers" and the second an: "Index of Authors, Subjects, and Titles."

Having examined the first two volumes of this magnificient bibliography, it is hard to wait for the banquet of historical fare to be spread before us in the three remaining volumes. Mr. Streeter is to be congratulated, not only on having the greatest of all libraries on the pioneer history of Texas, but on his willingness to share with other scholars the rich resources of his well stored mind.

Schuyler Mansion. A Critical Catalogue of the Furnishings & Decorations. By ANNA K. CUNNINGHAM, Curator of History, New York State Museum. Photography by John J. Vrooman, Kenneth W. Ireland & John A. Heller. (Albany: New York State Education Department, Division of Archives and History, Albert B. Corey, State Historian, 1955. viii, 141 pp., 118 illustrations including color plate on cover. A quarto volume bound in boards $4.00.)

Reviewed by R. W. G. VAIL.

The Schuyler Mansion in Albany is one of the most distinguished late eighteenth century country homes in America. Famous as the home of Major General Philip Schuyler whose family occupied it from 1762 to 1804, it is now the most notable of the historic houses owned by the State of New York and administered by the State Education Department. Through the cooperation of the members of the Schuyler family, the devoted trustees of the house and a skilled group of specialists brought together by the Education Department, the building is now one of the best restored and furnished period houses of the country. A surprising number of its original furnishings, decorations and family portraits have returned to help furnish the mansion as it was lived in by the original family. Other outstanding pieces of furniture of the period have been secured to add authentic charm to this historically important home.

Here lived the distinguished patriot, Major General Philip Schuyler, here he was almost captured by a marauding party of British and Indians during the Revolution, a foray which stripped the Schuylers of their family silver, left a tomahawk mark on the stair rail but failed to carry off the famous patriot. Here Alexander Hamilton married the General's second daughter Elizabeth and here, after his surrender at Saratoga, Gentleman Johnny Burgoyne was entertained by his erstwhile enemy.

The carefully prepared and accurate text tells briefly the life of the General and of his home, describes in detail its architecture, decoration and furnishings and the many splendid photographs show us the family portraits and beautiful pieces of furniture with which the mansion is

restored to its original appearance. There are nine oil portraits and miniatures of members of the family and their friends, some fifty pieces from the Schuyler family, several of them originally in the mansion, including the Schuyler family Dutch Bible of 1719. In addition to the furniture of the house, there is much fine silver, pewter, glass and china owned by the family, their friends and contemporaries. There are also numerous family costumes, fine textiles, jewelry and minor furnishings. Each item is meticulously described and identified and the whole forms one of the most interesting, authoritative and sumptuous catalogues of any American house museum. The author and photographers, the State Historian and the Education Department are to be warmly praised for having produced such a fitting catalogue of the State's most distinguished historical mansion.

An Old Faith in a New World: Portrait of Shearith Israel, 1654–1954. By David and Tamar de Sola Pool. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955. xviii + 595 pp., biblio., index, illus. $15.00)

Reviewed by Dr. Edgar Franklin Romig, *Minister of West End Collegiate Church, New York City.*

"Very often have I looked in at the window to see if the 'Holy Light' was burning before the altar. I never saw it extinguished; this ever burning Jewish light was the wonder and mystery of the First Ward, among its youngsters, and some old folks too." These words by Gabriel P. Disosway in his *Earliest Churches of New York* (1865) not only reveal the inner sensitiveness of a city boy in respect to the first Mill Street Synagogue of the Sephardic Jews in New York, but they become a happily convenient phrase to express the emotion of this reviewer in reading the precious pages of Rabbi and Mrs. de Sola Pool's volume, the chronicle of North America's oldest Israelite congregation, every page of which is aglow with devotion.

Those of us who are acquainted with David de Sola Pool expect that anything from his pen will have in it, to begin with, the assuredness of good literature, as well as the marks of deep faith. Sterling evidence of those qualities is found in his *Portraits Etched in Stone*. But in this more recent and lengthier work writing rises to greater heights, and faith to more eloquent proportions because the theme is so much more magnificently ample. Indeed it is as if one could in its pages almost read the souls of Rabbi de Sola Pool and his helpmeet and fellow-historian, as occasionally in reverent awe they paused in their writing and said to each other, "Truly God has been good to Israel." Yet such observation could be possible with them only because they were in a position to see the end from the beginning, or better, the present blessed estate of their household of belief from its strangely unpropitious beginnings.

The year 1654 is one better known to most Americans now than it was before the notable Jewish Tercentenary Celebrations, in which the de Sola Pools played so creative a part. In spite of it one reads Chapter I, "Shores of Hope," with the delighted sense of beholding something new. With the earlier known facts in the record of the Founding Fathers are blended in that chapter, as in subsequent ones, amazingly many that have only recently come to light. Whichever of them are introduced in this review are given not because they are old or new, but because all, in the alembic of the writers' minds and souls, have come alive with a kind of glory. Those first Jewish believers to settle on our shores left Brazil because they were forced to do so by Portuguese zeal abetted by the Inquisition. On the ship St. Charles, which also contained the Dutch Domine Polhemus, they made the perilous voyage from Recife to Nieuw Amsterdam in September 1654. Peter Stuyvesant requested the twenty-three Jews "in a friendly way to depart." "The director general," we are told, "had an aversion to all dissidents—Lutherans, Quakers, Roman Catholics, or Jews—and would have none of them. He brooked ill any variance from doctrines which he made his own. . . . The wanderers became pioneers. They stood up against Stuyvesant's will with dignity and strength, setting up, no doubt unconsciously, a cornerstone for the subsequent structure of American democracy." It may perhaps be added, without disservice to *An Old Faith in a New World*, that the arduous, consistently dignified, and insistent efforts of the Jews, extending over a century, to keep and hold their foothold in what is now New York, was within the general bounds of a Protestant colonial nation and culture that were essentially humane. "Narrow" is a word one may fitly apply to Stuyvesant, and many of his associates, only by the measure of 20th century criteria. One need think only of the Inquisition to be reminded that the grumbling inhospitality of the burghers of Nieuw Amsterdam to the first Jews was relatively mild. Nevertheless it did take courage and perseverance, and, of course, faith, for "the Founding Fathers of Shearith Israel," as the writers so affectionately call them, to stand their ground, to work out a livelihood, to gather together for prayer, to bury their dead, and by dint of dedicated resolve to win the right to own their house of worship and to play their part as citizens.

The first Mill Street place of worship which has been referred to was perhaps the third of the conventicles used by the Jews in New York. There is a story, which has now, alas, proved to seem a fiction, that their first place of foregathering was in a horse-mill which had earlier been used by the Dutch Church (parent of the Collegiate Church) which was founded in 1628. Whatever the facts may be, we of the West End Collegiate Church who possess several old mill-stones of the mid-seventeenth century, similar to one now reposing in the Sephardic Synagogue, shall continue to regard them as evidences of the esteem in which today we

hold our friends of the Old Convenant. But to proceed—the unfolding record tells us how the first Mill Street house of worship, built in 1730, was supplemented by the Second Mill Street Synagogue (1818); and that by the one at Crosby Street (1834); and that by the Nineteenth Street structure (1860), and finally, that by the present stately and commanding edifice at the corner of Central Park West and Seventieth Street, dedicated in 1897.

Much thought has been given to the felicitous naming of the chapters of the volume—I, Shores of Hope; II, Citadels of Faith; III, Living Traditions; IV, Panorama of Faith; V, Servants in the House of the Lord; VI "Diligently Unto Thy Children"; VII, Centrality of the Synagogue; VIII, Firm Foundations; IX, Silent Witness; X, American Synagogue; XI, Religion in Action; XII, Expanding Horizons; XIII, For the Sake of Zion; XIV, Fellowship and Friendship; XV, Twelve Generations; and XVI, The Past is Everlasting. These are followed by additional helpful sections, including pages on Servants of the Congregation, Notes, Glossary and References and a Bibliography.

When this reader received *An Old Faith In a New World* he found himself so entranced by it that he could scarcely lay it down until he had reached the end. Like all other readers he found some portions to his own taste more than others. He was especially drawn to the chapter on "Living Traditions," which deals with the loveliness of liturgy and sacred music in its noblest Sephardic expression. The following chapter, "Panorama of Faith," is also full of information and beauty, as in the following brief passage:

> "On the first day of Passover a prayer of exquisite spirituality and wondrous love of nature is chanted. It is the prayer for dew, a brilliant compilation of poems by Solomon ibn Gabirol (1020–1069) and other medieval Spanish Jewish poets. In this nature's physical rebirth in spring becomes the call for a rebirth of spiritual salvation. Man's earthborn appeal for gentle fructifying dew to bring life to parched fields is answered in a divine proclamation which makes life-giving dew a symbol of sustenance in the spirit."

In addition to those already referred to, the sections on chanting and sacred music, with actual parts of worship, like the Haftarah Chant, reproduced in score, gave this reader profit and inspiration. Other portions will be continually useful for reference, for the volume is not only a history, but a compendium. Its riches can be disclosed not in summary remark, nor with effort at appraisal and praise. It is a book to own, which means to treasure. And the ultimate result of delving in it will be to know again the benediction of communing for a season with a rare spiritual fellowship in American life.

The Social Sciences in Historical Study. A Report of the Committee on Historiography. (New York: Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 64, 1954. x + 181 pp., index. Paper, $1.75; Cloth, $2.25)

Reviewed by K. D. Irani, *Department of Philosophy, College of the City of New York.*

This is a report produced by the Social Science Research Council's second committee on historiography. Both in structure and in intent it resembles the report of the first committee (Bulletin 54, 1946), the scope of and reactions to which are discussed in the first chapter of the present report. The second chapter raises various problems in the interrelations between history and the social sciences, explaining the function and scheme of the present report. The remaining five chapters dealing with substantive matters are entitled, respectively: Chapter 3, A Survey of Concepts and Viewpoints in the Social Sciences; 4, Problems of Historical Analysis; 5, Change and History; 6, Methods: Theory and Practice; 7, the Social Sciences and the Problem of Historical Synthesis. It would be difficult to name a major topic within the purview of the subject matter of this report which is not discussed in the book, and discussed clearly and competently.

The preliminary question which must arise in this discussion is this: What is the relevance of the concepts used in the social sciences to historical thinking and research? To this we are given an answer: "The function of these various concepts is to aid the investigator to discriminate: to decide upon the basis of more inclusive and more sharply defined criteria what is significant and what is not; to appraise the evidence more systematically; and to evaluate the sequence of change more subtly" (p. 24). The underlying conception of history which is implied by these considerations goes far beyond the notion of history as a mere statement of what happened in the past. "A chronicle gives information but not understanding" (p. 25). For an understanding we "must discover how they [events] are related as cause and consequence" (p. 25). And for the cause-effect relations in various domains of human life we naturally turn to the various social sciences making use of the concepts in terms of which human phenomena are most suitably described for the purpose of obtaining theoretical causal generalizations.

The third chapter reviews a large variety of concepts from several of the social sciences. This survey is well executed and may well suggest to the historian concepts by which he may fruitfully describe and explain the dynamics of history. The chapter would have gained immeasurably, however, if some attempt had been made to demonstrate the actual utility of some of these concepts and the hypotheses in which they are used in application to some concrete historical problem; even more so, if such an example were contrasted with some other piece of histori-

cal work where the lack of such use rendered the history opaque to the understanding.

Each social science abstracts from the manifold of human phenomena a certain segment of traits and characteristics in which it discovers generalizations and causal relations. But history, by its very nature, is not committed to any particular abstraction. Hence when an event is susceptible of being subsumed under the theories (or hypotheses) of two or more social sciences (*e. g.*, sociology, economics, anthropology, etc.), one is faced with the problem of how this event is to be historically explained and how it is to be expressed and written. This problem has been faced and examined, though not resolved, in Chapters Four and Seven. But one is left with the feeling that the use of a certain type of concepts from the social sciences will be governed (if not dictated) not by the nature of the subject matter, nor by the need of completeness, but by the particular goal or purpose which the historian on that occasion has in view.

In spite of the fact that there is a clear and reliable statement of present-day views on methodology and the logic of science (Chapters Four and Six), there is a danger that its overly instrumentalistic terminology may be seriously misleading to the philosophically unsophisticated. The use of the word "experiment" with reference to historical work (p. 91) is metaphorical and unless this special sense is understood there might be a serious confusion about the historian's task. Again, the statement: "theories are not statements of eternal and immutable truth; they are rather statements that may possibly provide valid explanation" (p. 91), is perplexing, for a statement can hardly provide explanation if we are not prepared to accept it as true. Of course, what may be meant is that theoretical statements are more significantly considered as empirically acceptable rather than as immutably true. But no statement can provide valid explanation unless there are independent grounds for accepting it—whether we call this acceptance truth or not. These, however, are minor reservations one may have in appreciating a very able discussion of analysis and methodology. One may also note here that the discussion of causality (pp. 86–89) is somewhat sketchy.

By raising a series of significant problems and offering very valuable suggestions, analyses and insights in the cause of a more systematic and scientific working in history, this report will be worth careful study by all interested in historical work. Furthermore, students in humanities interested in methodology, philosophy of history and inter-disciplinary relationships in the social sciences will find this a clear and far-reaching discussion of the subject. The material in the book is more extensive than its excellent brevity may suggest.

ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY

AT 2:00 o'clock on Saturday afternoons during April and May will be shown in our auditorium a series of films on "The Great American Game." This series will include highlights of World Series games from 1947 through 1955; two feature films which have baseball as their theme; film biographies of famous baseball stars, including "The Babe Ruth Story," "The Jackie Robinson Story," and "Swing King," the story of Ted Williams; and other baseball subjects, such as "Play Ball, Son," "Play Ball With the Yankees," and "Let's Train With the Cardinals." A complete listing of the films in this baseball series appears on the Spring-Summer Calendar of Events which went out to all Members of the Society in March. Admission to these Saturday afternoon programs is open to the public without charge.

During the months of April and May on Friday afternoons at 3:00 o'clock there will be a series of eight lectures on "American Landscape Painting" by the Supervisor of Education, Mr. F. W. Bilodeau. This series will be devoted to an analysis of landscape painting in America from the eighteenth century to the present. These lectures are open to the public free of charge. A detailed listing of the lecture subjects will be found on the Spring-Summer Calendar of Events.

Two new exhibitions will open in May: 7th Regiment Sesquicentennial Exhibition—an exhibit of prints and photographs depicting events from the history of New York's famous 7th Regiment, opening May 1st; and Eat, Drink and Be Wary—a backward glance at foods, drugs and cosmetics before the protective acts of fifty years ago (Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906), opening May 9th. Both these exhibitions will run until July 31st. The current Empire State exhibition will continue until June 6th.

The 1955–56 season of members' lectures will conclude with "The Sculptures of New York," by Frederic Allen Williams, sculptor, on April 3d; "The Bird Islands of Peru Revisited," by Dr. Robert Cushman Murphy, Lamont Curator Emeritus of Birds, American Museum of Natural History, on May 1st; and "This Amazing America—The Story of Old Blue China," by Arthur H. Merritt, D.D.S., at the annual Strawberry Festival, June 4th.

The School Art League will meet here in the morning on April 14th and 28th.

In February Dr. Vail was elected a Corresponding Member of the American Jewish Historical Society.

RECENT ACCESSIONS

PLAN OF GREENWICH VILLAGE, 1822, engraved by J. D. Stout; four pieces of Colonial currency, 1758–75; four Civil War passes issued to C. J. Prescott; stock certificates and express receipts, 1855–65. *Gift of Mr. John S. Alden.*

Collection of periodicals, pamphlets, programs, and 38 scrapbooks of clippings and broadsides relating to the work of James Lees Laidlaw and his wife, Harriet Burton Laidlaw, in the Woman's Suffrage Movement, 1912–18. *Gift of Mrs. Dana Converse Backus (Louise Burton Laidlaw)*, in memory of her mother, Mrs. Harriet Burton Laidlaw.

Five paintings by the donor depicting imagined atomic bomb attacks on New York City, Washington, and Moscow, originally done to illustrate articles in *Colliers* and *This Week*. *Gift of Mr. Chesley Bonestell.*

Corset made for Mrs. Tom Thumb by the Olmstead Corset Shop, New York City, c.1880. *Gift of Mrs. Ethel Davison.*

Bronze medallion of the donor by Paul Manship, 1955. *Gift of Mr. Albert Gallatin.*

Oil painting of the East River and East Third Street Pier, by Jacob Lipkin, 1928. *Gift of Mr. A. Horn.*

Staffordshire plate of the St. Louis World's Fair, 1904. *Gift of Mr. Joseph Nathan Kane.*

Three costumes and a hat with bird of paradise, worn by the donor's mother, Mrs. L. L. Barzaghi, 1889–1918. *Gift of Mrs. Louis Kenedy.*

Paisley coat dress worn by Mrs. Ralph Meacham of Huntington, Pa., on her way to California by boat during the 1849 Gold Rush. *Gift of Mrs. Otto Kirchner-Dean.*

French percussion cap duelling pistol, c.1820, which belonged to the donor's great-grandfather; desk thermometer which belonged to Manton Marble, editor of the New York World. *Gift of Col. Thatcher T. P. Luqueer.*

Business records of the soap and candle makers, Enoch Morgan's Sons, makers of Sapolio: letterpress copies of correspondence, account books, photographs, lithographs, posters, books, and pamphlets, 1868–1912. *Gift of Mr. John W. Morgan.*

Small wooden doll of the late 18th century and a cornhusk doll of the mid 19th century. *Gift of Mrs. Katharine Prentis Murphy.*

Staffordshire platter with a representation of the engagement between the *Chesapeake* and the *Shannon*, made by John Rogers & Son, c.1816. *Gift of Mr. Irving S. Olds.*

Manuscript land survey entitled "Field Book of Macomb's Purchase, No. 1, 2, & 3"; abstract of the title of George Rapelje (d. 1835) to the Glass House Farm, with a map of the farm. *Gift of Mr. Edward C. Parish.*

Purchases: *L'Art de Batir les Vausseaux et d'en Perfectionner la Construction.* . . . (Amsterdam: 1719); [Rev. James Moore Brown], *The Captives of Abb's Valley . . . by a Son of Mary Moore* (Philadelphia: 1854); *Comic Sketches of American Life* (Philadelphia: [c. 1850?]; *Adventures of Jonathan Corncob, Loyal American Refugee. Written by Himself* (London: 1787); *The First Settlement and Early History of Palmyra, Wayne County, N. Y.* . . . (Lyons, N. Y.: 1858); [William Hicks], *The Nature and Extent of Parliamentary Power Considered, in Some Remarks upon Mr. Pitt's Speech . . . Previous to the Repeal of the Stamp Act* . . . (New York: 1768); *The Joker.* Whitehall, N. Y. [Vol. I, 1852–3]; Lewis H. Morgan, *League of the Hodé–no–san–nee, or, Iroquois* (Rochester: 1851) [Author's presentation copy]; six pieces of music, five relating to Lafayette and one to Staten Island; *The New England Primer, Improved* . . . (Albany; 1818); Sir William Howard Russell, *The Atlantic Telegraph* (London: [1866]); seven letters of Jeremiah Wadsworth of Hartford, Conn., to John Chaloner, 1780–81, 1790; *The White Tops.* Evansville, Ind. [1928–49]; *Yankee Doodle.* New York. Vols. I–II, 1846–47; lithograph, "Capture of Harrold and the Shooting of Booth . . . ," published by Kimmel and Forster, [1865]; watercolor, "Plan of Fort Columbus on Governors Island," [1811?]; section and elevation of Castle William, Governors Island [1811?]; colored lithograph, "National Guard, 7th Regt. N. Y. S. M." in Washington Square, from a picture by Otto Böttiger, New York, 1852. *Purchases from the Society's various accession funds.*

Three oil portraits, of William Coventry H. Waddell, his wife and children, and the Countess of Coventry. *Gift of Miss Alice Waddell Smith III.*

Silver tea set made by William G. Forbes of New York City, probably part of the wedding silver of Mr. and Mrs. Isaac Leggett, married in 1778; oil portrait of Mrs. Horatio B. Williams, by Carl Wuermer, 1946. *Bequest of Dr. Horatio B. Williams.*